The Vandal Of Europe

Wilhelm Mühlon

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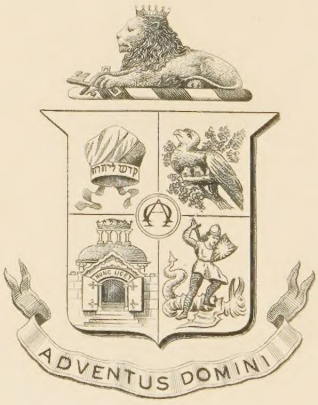

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The Vandal of Europe

An Exposé of the Inner Workings of Germany's Policy of World Domination, and its Brutalizing Consequences

By

Wilhelm Mühlon

Former Director in Krupps

Translated with an Introduction by

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INTRODUCTION

DOCTOR MÜHLON'S diary is one of the great documents of the war. It will live, in the years to come, long after the ordinary controversial literature of the war has been forgotten. It discloses an intellectual and moral insight and a literary pungency which qualify it for immortality.

When the historian of the next generation undertakes to fix responsibility for the present world war and to analyze the causes of that lust for world power which moved Germany to draw the sword against Russia and against democratic Western Europe, he will find nowhere a more vital record of the origins, the symptoms, and the whole phantasmagoria of German militaristic madness than that contained in this amazing journal.

There is a phrase of Burke's to the ef-

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fect that you cannot indict a people. Dr. Mühlon refutes Burke. Himself a German, he has indicted the whole political, social, and moral structure of modern Germany. He has arraigned its governmental system, repressive of individualism, of freedom of speech, and independence of thought; its abhorrent conception of a State superior to human feelings and moral laws; its deliberate policy of military aggrandizement; its paganism (disguised as Lutheranism here or Catholicism there); the greed and arrogance of German industrialism; the sterility of German intellectualism; the degradation of the German press; the servility and hypocrisy of German social life—in short, the many-sided degeneration of the German character.

What this German savant has written about his own countrymen gains in effect from the fact that it lacks utterly the formalism of a lawyer's brief. It is not a political pamphlet, like "The German *J'ac-*

cuse." It is not a critique of the follies of German diplomacy, like Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum. It is not the philippic of an embittered rhetorician or a disappointed statesman. It is a piece of self-communion, not originally intended for publication, and even passing out of the diarist's possession for more than three years. It is the daily confession of a high-minded German to his own conscience of the sins committed by the new, intellectually perverted and morally debauched Germany against the ancient German name.

Through his connection with the Krupp works, of which he was for a time a director, Dr. Mühlon was brought into intimate contact with the men who were preparing Germany for a world war. He knew their aims and ambitions. It adds a poignancy to his denunciations of these men and their policies that he felt himself in a measure morally tainted by that association. He speaks in shame and sorrow, rather than

in anger. There is a note in his diary of the despair of a prophet without honor in his own country, reproaching his kindred for their faithlessness to ancient ideals of justice and righteousness and for their crimes against humanity and civilization.

To the average reader the most astonishing thing about Dr. Mühlon's book is that it should have been written by a twentieth century German. Its tone and point of view are eighteenth century or early nineteenth century. They have the detachment, the cosmopolitanism, the critical poise of German intellectualism in the days of Goethe.

Dr. Mühlon is not a victim of the new German chauvinism. The modern *furor Teutonicus* doesn't impress him. As a man of science and of liberal intellectual tendencies he has only disdain for the brutal policies in pursuance of which modern German militarism and industrialism have set out to conquer the world.

Many of his countrymen will say that

he is mad. But that only means that he is not an ordinary German.

He is, in fact, like Goethe, a European first and a German afterwards. He says in a passage in his diary, dated October 6, 1914:

> If I should ever hear a voice in Germany, which speaks of justice, humanity, or non-material progress after the war, or after our victory, then I will comment on the fact with pride and very fully, even if it is the voice of an unimportant and unknown person. I shall call him the first European in Germany.

Dr. Mühlon is himself the first European in Germany. He is a political philosopher far in advance of the statesmanship of Europe. He sees that the curse of that continent has been its multiplicity of diverse governments, diverse languages, and diverse national interests. Artificial antagonisms and inherited prejudices have kept the peoples apart and made them an easy prey to the ambitions of politicians and dynasties.

The ill from which Europe suffers most

is chronic political disunity. This produces frictions and wars and has given rise to the doctrine of the Balance of Power, which is based on the maintenance of the territorial and political *status quo*, itself a delusion and a conservator of all sorts of inequalities and discords. Dr. Mühlon's political ideal is a United States of Europe—a restoration, through mutuality of interests, of peace, friendship, and coöperation by all Europeans in the tasks of civilization and social advancement. He is a citizen of this great community first, and a German next—at present an anti-German because Germany is the most dangerous enemy of real progress and civilization and the greatest obstacle to the rational political reformation of Europe. His disloyalty to Germany is only an honorable outgrowth of his loyalty to the Europe of the future.

On one point Dr. Mühlon's testimony will be of especial interest to Americans. We often hear this statement:

"We are making war on the German Government, but not on the German people."

It has an air of pleasant sophistication which appeals to those who lack a close acquaintance with modern Germany and the modern German character.

There never was any foundation for a distinction of this sort. Say what you will about the helplessness of the German people in the hands of a military autocracy, the fact remains that the German people have fought this war. And they have fought it in a spirit entirely different from that of the people of Austria-Hungary, for instance. They have fought the war not merely out of loyalty to the existing dynasty and the existing political order, but for what they themselves expected to get out of it.

If support for the theory of a clear rift between the German Government and the German people and of unwilling participa-

tion in the war on the part of the latter could be found anywhere, it would be found in Dr. Mühlon's diary. He is a bitter critic of the deliberate policy of the German Government which forced war on Europe. He would gladly have testified to the existence of an anti-war sentiment among the German people. Such opposition would have mitigated his own painful sense of isolation. But he could not testify to it, because it did not exist. He says frankly, on the other hand, that all classes of Germans welcomed the war as a relief from the difficulties of Germany's pre-war situation.

As to the ruling classes—the military autocracy, the industrials, the professional men, and the leaders in education—they had all long ago embraced the doctrine of military aggrandizement. "They want to lie in the beds of other people and don't mind being abused as barbarians for wanting to do so." Plunder was the watchword of the dominant classes in Germany.

But how about the lower classes? On this point Dr. Mühlon writes in the very first days of the war:

No wonder that the German proletariat finally welcomed a test; that it saw itself rid of an Alp-like burden when it realized: "Now things have broken loose and we shall soon know where we really stand."

One can almost say that what the result might be was wholly subordinated to this deeper thought: "Anyway, we couldn't have gone on like this much further; clarity must come; the burden must be shaken off. If it goes badly for us, then we shall start again, with new bearings, more modest, simpler, less intolerant, better. If it goes well, then we, the people, have done the work. We can demand that we shall lead in the future a life more worth living and that we shall come to an understanding with our present enemies, as soon as those enemies, who now surround us, misjudge us, and plot against us, are overthrown."

And of the Socialist leaders, whose antics have been somewhat mysterious to foreign eyes:

The Socialist leaders also finally abandoned their opposition, adhered to the Government, and demanded full support for it, since they saw that their whole following wanted no more mere verbal controversy and no position of isolation, but wished to leave the way free for the Government to act, with the whole people behind it—so that the failure of the Government might definitely condemn it, while success might bring to the German masses new life and progress.

The millions of Socialist workers did not want to separate in this crisis from the people, to which they belonged and which they wished to see get forward more and more. The people would have to fight the war and bear its burdens. So one would have to stand by it, not abuse it and fight against it by refusing obedience to the Government. The Socialists had suddenly enough of strife. They wanted to go along with the nation—to bind it closer to them and thus attain more easily their Social-Democratic aims.

This book was written four years ago. It is remarkable how little it has aged. There is hardly a judgment in it which has not proved sound. There is hardly an

opinion which the developments of the war have shown to be fallacious.

It came from the heart. It was written in the light of intimate knowledge. It dealt with verities. The author commented on the occurrences of June–November, 1914, as if he were merely a clear-minded, impartial witness of them. He proclaimed the truth as he saw it. The Great War was made in Germany. Her military autocracy had been planning a world war for years. It was only a question when "the day" would come. And that is exactly the truth as history will establish it.

William L. McPherson.

July 29, 1918.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

For a short time before the outbreak of the war and until the end of 1914 the author occupied a high position in a great German industrial establishment, with wide international connections. His work was performed in an atmosphere which heralded war.

When war came he renewed his efforts to free himself from an occupation which had become hateful to him. In the months which passed before he obtained his release the following commentaries were written. After an unsuccessful attempt to publish them, they lay untouched for more than three years. They came into the author's hands again only a few weeks ago.

Although they seem to him incomplete and imperfect, in view of the frightful de-

velopment which the war and our insight into it have undergone, the author believes that he ought to present them unaltered and in their original form. Only a few sections have been excised—those which dealt with the special field of his business activities.

It is the author's main purpose to put this question to the German reader: "Haven't you thought thus for a long time? Don't you think thus now; because all men must think thus who, without craft or violence, strive after truth and justice?"

On the other hand, little importance is attached to requiring the reader to take on faith—a faith on his part which is often abused—the interspersed descriptions of events. It will suffice if he is moved to recall his own experiences and impressions, and to draw from them whatever conclusions he can.

THE AUTHOR.

March, 1918.

The Vandal of Europe

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In the first days of August, 1914.

WHEN the news reached us at the end of June that the heir-apparent to the Austro-Hungarian throne and his wife had been assassinated on June 28th, in Serajevo, by conspirators of Serbian origin, my first thought and my first words were:

"Now we are sure to have a European war. Austria must make a demonstration of some sort, or else her fate is sealed. Otherwise all the Hapsburg races will shake themselves free from the feeble and hesitating Dual Monarchy. And, in pursuance of all its traditions, action by the Dual Monarchy will mean war.

"Austria-Hungary will not decide to

grant to her long discordant and disunited peoples the opportunity they desire to create out of her territory various smaller independent states, which might become the truest friends of the mother who bore them. On the contrary, the Dual Monarchy has always kept on occupying and annexing new territory, so that its difficulties have steadily increased. It has never voluntarily surrendered anything. It has always fought to maintain an untenable position, like that it used to hold in Italy.

"A generous and cleverly planned liberation of the subject races might have had such a moral effect that Austria would now stand to-day far stronger and less isolated, in spite of the diminution of her territorial holdings. But after the Serajevo murder all that would come too late. To yield or to remain passive now would be interpreted as a sign of weakness."

The Hungarians are much to blame for the stagnation of Austria-Hungary. Since

they have obtained the largest part of that independence which they desire of Austria, they have become, in fact, the rulers of Austria. That is only because Austria has not drawn away from them entirely—a regrettable mistake. Hungary is to-day a harsher exponent than Austria of the principle of the suppression of subject races. Thus the difficult position of the Dual Monarchy with relation to Rumania is due to the stiff, Chauvinistic attitude of Hungary toward the three million Rumanians in Siebenbürgen. Hungary is hated politically on all sides. At Vienna she is always sure to advocate severity instead of conciliation.

The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a grave error, and has been the source of the most dangerous frictions. If these provinces—in so far as they are Serb—had been handed over to Serbia with a friendly gesture, Austria-Hungary would doubtless have found in the enlarged Ser-

bian state a grateful friend, who would have protected the position of the Dual Monarchy in the Balkans more effectually than Hungary with her oppressive system ever can do.

But Austria-Hungary renounced this easy and rational method of creating a devoted neighbor by her policy at the end of the Balkan wars. She was then resolved to prevent, at all costs, Serbia's reaching the Adriatic. She preferred to set up, as a barrier, the artificial state of Albania, the northern half of which is Serb and the southern Greek. This step could not but lead to a deadly feud with Serbia, make Austria-Hungary's policy universally unpopular, increase Russia's prestige, and eventually bring on a collision with Italy. For if the Italians also demanded the creation of the Albanian kingdom, it was only in order to prevent Austrian expansion along that coast. Since Austria-Hungary was also firmly set against allowing Italy to

get a foothold in Southern Albania (at Valona), it would have been better for the Dual Monarchy to give the northern half of the kingdom to Serbia and the southern half to Greece. Austria-Hungary would have fared better in the long run with this solution and Italy, unsupported, would not have held out against it.

Of course, if Austria-Hungary thought and acted differently, she was only doing what other great powers would have done under similar circumstances. Never for any reason allow a neighbor to increase in strength; never work with him in the interest of general progress; never surrender anything to him! That conflicts with self-preservation in the sense in which, unfortunately, the states of Europe interpret it. One would be laughed to scorn were he to say that a state can voluntarily constrict its boundaries and yet become greater and more influential—that it depends not on brute strength, but on moral quality,

whether a state is to survive. Certainly we should long ago have had a United States of Europe, if the political intelligence of the separate groups in Europe had been broader than it is. What we consider so important in all our plans and struggles is, as a matter of fact, so infinitely petty and barren that, outside Europe, no one can really understand what we are driving at.

Since Austria-Hungary, after the double murder at Serajevo, was less able than ever to change her policy and yet had to do something to maintain her prestige, it was clear that she would choose war. In that way alone could she hope to terrorize her enemies within and without and to secure her status as a great power. But for how long? That was another question. In this sort of politics you live from hand to mouth. You see that somehow to-day you extricate yourself from a situation; but you have a vague consciousness that your

salvation is only for the moment. If the immediate danger is avoided, then the gnawing process will begin all over again, within and without. But you will stave off ruin, delude yourself that you have evaded it, camouflage it, hope to find later somewhere combinations which will restore the fortunes of a crumbling house. You know that you can never be really sound and whole again, and that you merely deceive yourself and others. But you shrink from thinking the consequences through.

Austria-Hungary was obliged to seek safety in a foreign war. She could not draw and quarter her own Serbian-Croatian subjects before the eyes of the world. On the contrary, they had to be presented to the outside public as absolutely loyal. In fact, the murderers did have connections with Serbia, where their racial brethren day in and day out were stirring up hate against that outworn, cruel, selfish, greedy,

and hypocritical simulacrum of a state—Austria-Hungary, a colossus with feet of clay.

That the murder was extremely embarrassing to the Serbian government made no difference. It must be held responsible, because it was desirable to spread the impression that the Serbs were the real criminals, even though Austrian Serbs had committed the murder. There would have been a universal tittering in Serbian circles if Vienna had contented itself with the announcement that the Serbian Government was not implicated in the crime, which was committed by Austrian subjects on Austrian soil. No, it was evident that Serbian enmity must be rebuked within Serbia, if Austria-Hungary was not to be put in the position of tolerating it. The Serbian Government must not be allowed to escape war or the Serbian people to escape punishment.

But if it came to military operations

against Serbia, every government knew that Russia would not look on unconcernedly. For a blow against Serbia would be a blow against Russia, which not only played a general protective rôle in the South Slav states, but also exercised a broad supervision over their affairs. And in Serbia and Montenegro this protection and supervision were given with the assent and approval both of the governments and of the peoples.

The relation was a closer one than that between mere allies. The Balkan wars had recently seriously damaged the prestige of Austria-Hungary in all Eastern Europe, had made the Dual Monarchy unpopular and also given it the appearance of helplessness, while Russia had vastly improved her position. Tolerance on Russia's part of a blow against Serbia would have restored the status of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans, and even in Turkey; and Russia would have lost credit to a serious degree.

Nobody could assume that Russia would allow herself to appear vanquished without an appeal to the sword.

* * *

Nevertheless, there were many well-informed people who believed that war would in some way be averted, without clearly knowing how. War clouds had so often gathered in recent years and then blown over that nobody could any longer really imagine such a frightful possibility. For fourteen days everything appeared to be tranquil. All the governments, including that of Serbia, expressed horror of the murder. Only the Austro-Hungarian and Serbian newspapers overflowed with venom. The Government at Vienna did not disclose its hand.

On July 17th I had some business in Berlin and there I learned the following from a person within the inner circle:

Immediately before the Kaiser started

on his trip to Norway, there was a conference in Berlin with the Austrians. The Kaiser had declared to the Austrians that, this time, he would go with them through thick and thin. The Austrians had announced, with the consent of our Government, that within eight days they would dispatch a well-constructed note to Serbia, which should contain all the demands considered necessary to restore tranquillity in Austria-Hungary and to revive respect for the Dual Monarchy. Attached thereto would be a 48-hour ultimatum. The demands included: Punishment of the Serbian officers implicated in the murder; dissolution of all the Greater Serbian societies, and a series of supplementary satisfactions.

I had the impression that no agreement had been made as to the wording of the note. This was doubtless a dangerous omission of German diplomacy, considering the risks that were being run. The Govern-

ment of Vienna had really obtained thereby a *carte blanche*. Germany must unconditionally endorse whatever might be contained in that note.

A few days later another distinguished person gave me some further explanations. He had spoken about this omission with his friend, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Secretary had answered that they had thought about taking a hand in the composition of the note, but that the Kaiser's assent had been so abrupt and so unqualified, that thereafter, on the German side, a check or a limitation could not well be considered. Finally, the Secretary of State also thought that he could make a better impression in Paris and St. Petersburg with a statement that he never knew the contents of the note.

In these conversations in Berlin on the 17th of July, I learned, further, that the Kaiser had positively declared himself to this effect: If Russia should be dissatisfied

with the demands made on Serbia by Vienna and should mobilize, then he would immediately declare a German mobilization, and that this would mean war. The Austrians, therefore, returned to Vienna with assurances as liberal as they could possibly have expected. When I said to my informant that under such circumstances war was unavoidable, and was almost upon us, he shrugged his shoulders and said he thought so too.

I repeated this information to those for whom it was intended and on that occasion I learned from the gentleman whom I have designated as a friend of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that the Kaiser had also personally expressed to him exactly similar views.

Nevertheless in the circle which I frequented I was surprised to find that no one would admit that war was at our very doors. Only when, eight days later, the text of the Austro-Hungarian note to Serbia was actu-

ally printed, did they begin to talk otherwise.

This note was, in fact, one of the harshest imaginable. It contained the most serious charges against the Serbian Government and set forth demands which one European state had scarcely ever ventured to make upon another. Austria-Hungary wanted a rupture with Serbia—and a rupture which could not be bridged over by diplomatic intervention. In truth, the note contained only one-sided contentions unsupported by proof; gave no time for an investigation and required an unconditional surrender without debate. Now everybody saw clearly that Austria-Hungary would act; would demand excessive satisfaction in order to make every compromise impossible; that she believed herself unable to restore her former prestige except through a brutal blow.

Serbia had made within the allotted period almost all the concessions which

were asked, with the shrewd guess that Austria-Hungary would lose her game all the same so long as she did not draw the sword, even though Serbia should humble herself. In my opinion Serbia could have contented herself with the simple statement that she accepted all the propositions of the note, and Austria-Hungary would, notwithstanding, not have declared herself appeased (even though that would have left her in a still more pitiable position). She would certainly have insisted in that case (as she did, in fact, with regard to the concessions actually offered by Serbia) that Serbia's compliance was filled with a spirit of insincerity, and was in reality therefore a mere exhibition of cynicism, mockery, and arrogance. In other words, as has been here explained, Austria-Hungary wanted war with Serbia immediately and at any cost. A quarrel was, in a sense, in the air; it was no longer a question of shaping words about it or defining it. It was the explosion

of long-contained and intense fury, which wanted to get at the object of that fury, whether he prayed for mercy or threatened, whether he yielded or struck back.

The Serbians knew this. They mobilized and evacuated Belgrade even before their note went to Vienna and Austria's answer could be received. It is noteworthy that the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, immediately on receiving it, had declared the Serbian note unsatisfactory, and had broken off diplomatic relations, without feeling obligated to ask Vienna whether, according to opinion there, the Austrian demands were considered to be met. And yet not a single one of those demands was refused.

* * *

What, now, was the public feeling in Germany? All strata of the population concluded from the Vienna ultimatum to Serbia that it meant war between Austria-Hungary and Serbia and consequently a

world-war. They also felt that in consideration of the long-standing alliance they must refrain from any criticism of the Dual Monarchy, and must stand firmly on its side, since a defeat for Austria-Hungary—even a diplomatic defeat—would be a defeat for Germany. Excitement ran very high, because it was felt, further, that a clarification of the situation and decisive measures would follow very quickly, in order that the Triple Entente might have no time for crafty combinations, and might not deprive the Germans of their greatest military advantage—a more advanced degree of preparedness.

It might also be said that the German people waited for the decision and were prepared to greet it as a relief. Already too often had they gone through the strain of war preparations; too frequently had our foreign policy been changed and futile experiments in foreign relations been made; too constant and onerous had the burdens

of preparation for war become. And yet at the same time the consciousness had strengthened among the people that German reputation in the world had not risen, but fallen.

Germany had become rich and powerful in a material sense, but foreign distaste for everything German had increased to an almost incredible extent. In the European community Germans were considered as an alien mass, which eventually must be broken up and absorbed. The outside world found Germans brutal when they pursued politics; hard-hearted where they were masters; unscrupulous when they conducted business; dull and ossified when they taught; awkward and unpolished wherever they appeared; without taste when they bought; ridiculous when they wanted to appear distinguished; cowardly when it came to individual convinctions; not to be depended upon when they should stand fast; servile when they wished to learn; unjust when

they passed judgments on anything foreign. They were considered pests, and the richest and most high-placed among them excited the greatest aversion. The simple German of the so-called "old stock" had been tolerated by the outside world because he never rubbed it the wrong way.

Germans to the last man had a sense of all this, even if they never got beyond their own boundaries. They knew that the German, as such, was unpopular all over the world, that people avoided him, or held their noses in his presence.

This created discord; for at home the social and political leaders acted as though the German was at the forefront the world over, and was its ideal of the coming man, since his culture, his power, his principles, his aims were higher and broader than those of all other peoples. As a matter of fact, no one knew so well as these leaders how little the German people believed in the truth of this glorification. On the con-

trary, Germans saw themselves torn by the strongest oppositions and rivalries: between South and North, Catholic and Protestant, Junkers, Democrats, and Socialists, the Kaiser and the Princes of the other Imperial States—the multiplication of such antipathies could be continued indefinitely.

For example, the irreconcilability of the Poles, the Danes, the Alsatians, and the Lorrainers seemed to prove to the German people that no foreigner is able to recognize the moral superiority of the prevailing German order; that no one is willing to remain with us in order to learn and to imitate; that none bows even to force, but would almost rather mount the scaffold than yield.

Where, then, is the great idea, the broad program, the illumination of the future which Germany represents and which justifies its leadership? So people ask themselves. We work hard and methodically; we have become prosperous and ambitious.

But have our advances and achievements in other fields kept step therewith? Were we not in the time of our greatest political disunion and economic poverty a more significant factor in the culture of the world and in the development of human thought than we are to-day?

Enough. Germany was torn with doubts, divided in opinion, distrustful of her own preachers and prophets; pessimistic over the course plotted for the ship of state. She has seen herself in recent years guided by a group of Prussian Protestant bureaucrats, military men, agrarians, and industrials towards great and splendid times. But she has noticed no progress upward. Whoever thought differently was expected to hold his tongue. All opposition was banned, even socially; yet the ever-increasing burden of taxation fell on all.

No wonder that the German proletariat finally welcomed a test; that it saw itself rid of an Alp-like burden when it realized:

"Now things have broken loose, and we shall soon know where we really stand."

One can almost say that what the result might be was wholly subordinated to this deeper thought: "Anyway we couldn't have gone on like this much further; clarity must come; the burden must be shaken off. If it goes badly for us, then we will start again with new bearings, more modest, simpler, less intolerant, better. If it goes well, then we, the people, have done the work; we can demand that we shall lead in the future a life more worth living and that we shall come to an understanding with our present enemies, as soon as these enemies, who now surround us, misjudge us and plot against us, are overthrown."

How great the rôle was which such feelings, conscious or unconscious, played in most circles among the lower classes, was in my opinion proven by the fact that even the press of the Left (like the *Berliner Tageblatt*) immediately emphasized the seri-

ousness of the situation, and the consequences which might flow out of it, yet refrained almost entirely from criticism. The Government should have complete charge; it should justify itself; it should not be allowed to say that it had been in any way hindered in its task. This attitude was also taken by the sections of the press which formerly used to criticize most bitterly the policy and the measures of the Government. The newspapers of the Right went naturally with the Government. They had no position of their own and were, in fact, the more anxious because they did not understand how completely the consciousness of the impossibility of existing conditions both abroad and at home had penetrated even the lowest strata.

Independent newspapers, like the *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung*, tried at the beginning to hedge. Serbia was no occasion for war on our part; we could not allow Austria-Hungary's policy to involve us.

This first opinion was dictated by the sincerest anxiety lest the German Government might again commit some folly in foreign politics.

The foreign press has wrongly read into this expression of the *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung*, an inclination of the industrial magnates against the war. It should have realized that the *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung* would quickly side with general opinion, when it saw that the theory of Teutonic aggression and expansion, so often preached by itself, would this time be taken up by the Government more vigorously than ever before. The Centrum newspapers were likewise for an unconditional support of Vienna, especially because the Dual Monarchy upholds the Catholic faith among all its peoples.

Only the Social Democratic press raged against Austria, and said that for such a cause no drop of German blood should flow —that the peace of the world must be

preserved by the proletariat—if necessary, by force. But the Socialist leaders also finally abandoned their opposition, adhered to the Government, and demanded full support for it, since they saw that their whole following wanted no more mere verbal controversy and no position of isolation, but wished to leave the way free for the Government to act, with the whole people behind it—so that the failure of the Government might definitely condemn it, while success might bring to the German masses new life and progress. The millions of Socialist workers did not want to separate in this crisis from the people, to which they belonged and which they wished to see get forward more and more. The people would have to fight the war and bear its burdens; so one would have to stand by it, not abuse it and fight against it by refusing obedience to the Government. The Socialists had suddenly enough of strife. They wanted to go along with

the nation—to bind it closer to them and thus attain more easily their Social-Democratic aims. What they did, they did not do out of any love for the Government.

* * *

What we know about the further developments between the ultimatum to Serbia and the outbreak of the war is here set down very briefly:

Austria-Hungary, immediately after the severance of diplomatic relations, declared war against Serbia in order to present to Europe a fully accomplished fact. She declared at once, however, at least *via* Berlin, that she had no intention to acquire territory belonging to Serbia, but merely wished to discipline the latter and thus restore a lasting tranquillity between neighbors, if, and in as far as, the conflict could be localized to these two countries.

This explanation appeared flimsy even

to the German public. The intervention of the Dual Monarchy could go very far and last for a long time without coming to the point of a formal incorporation of Serbia. In the probable event that Montenegro would take Serbia's part, Austria-Hungary would again have a free hand.

Also there were various outgivings at Vienna and Budapest to the effect that the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar would have to be taken back again in order to drive a wedge between Serbia and Montenegro. One could assume that Austria did not include the Sanjak in its definition of Serbia. Moreover, it was the general impression that once more only the course of events would show what interpretation Austria-Hungary was going to put on a declaration such as that she had made regarding the territorial integrity and independence of Serbia.

Russia expressed herself at once with great positiveness. She could not stand

by unconcernedly and see Austria-Hungary take warlike measures against Serbia. Germany declared most emphatically that the Austrian-Serbian conflict must remain localized. England saw that Russia would never accept that situation and made a proposition for mediation. The dispute should be brought before a conference of the Great Powers. Meanwhile Austria-Hungary should suspend hostilities. France supported this proposition. Germany declared that a Great Power like Austria-Hungary could not be dragged before a conference, but that an exchange of views between Cabinets would be acceptable. Austria-Hungary objected to every proposition to draw her into a discussion; things had gone so far that a suspension of hostilities was no longer possible. Italy, after originally appearing to approve the English proposition, adhered to the German and Austrian point of view.

In the meanwhile the Kaiser had returned

from his trip to Norway. The President of France had first learned of the situation which had been created by Austria-Hungary when he was in Stockholm, after a visit to St. Petersburg, and he had hurriedly returned to Paris without stopping at Christiania and Copenhagen, as he had expected to do. The eyes of the whole world were fixed on Berlin and the Kaiser. Many Germans feared that there would be a long and intricate discussion; that the Kaiser would be taken in again and that Russia would win time for preparation. Even the Imperial Chancellor and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said to their most intimate friends that whether war would come or not, no one could tell.

The press received temporary orders to quiet the public with prospects of a settlement. What transpired behind the scenes will only be known later. I shall put down here a few occurrences as they presented themselves to me on the day of the declara-

tion of war, in the light of the best information obtainable.

Russia officially ordered on July 30th (in reality, it was said to have been two days earlier) a partial mobilization of her armies on the Austrian border, because, during the exchange of diplomatic suggestions, she could not afford to remain passive, so long as Austria-Hungary declined to suspend operations against Serbia. The Dual Monarchy's countermove was a complete mobilization. It had had earlier mobilized only eight army corps for action against Serbia alone. Berlin let it be known in St. Petersburg that a threat against Austria-Hungary would be considered a threat against the German Empire, since the obligations of the defensive alliance would then apply. Russia was, therefore, expected to recall her partial mobilization against Austria-Hungary.

Russia mobilized, nevertheless, her entire army and navy, whereupon Berlin immedi-

ately sent this ultimatum to St. Petersburg: "In twelve hours either demobilization or war." At the same time Berlin inquired in Paris whether France would remain neutral in case of a conflict between Germany and Russia. Since, naturally, no satisfactory response came either from St. Petersburg or from Paris, Germany declared mobilization and a state of war with Russia and France.

From now on I shall set down every day, if possible, some comments and let them stand just as they were written. Even though occasion should arise hereafter to correct them or amplify them, it seems to me more important to preserve a clear image of my current thoughts, opinions, and experiences.

* * *

The war begins in Paris with a horrible deed. Jaurès is assassinated in a café by a patriotic youth. The French Government

hastens to express its indignation. As a matter of fact, Jaurès was a credit to his country, a man of very great and deserved influence, unremitting in his efforts to broaden his own views, and those of his fellow-citizens, on lines of progress, humanity, peace, concord, and justice. With all that, he had an intense love for France. He was no depreciator of his countrymen.

Only a few days ago, at the International Socialist Congress at Brussels, he had emphasized his own nation's love of peace and had warmly defended her when the question arose whether the European Social Democracy was strong enough to prevent a world war. Unfortunately it developed at this Congress that also with the Social Democrats the international bonds uniting them were too weak, as soon as nations parted, and that the Socialist leaders would stand wherever their countries stood.

Jaurès was certainly no traitor, as his assassin claimed, but an enlightened spirit,

far in advance of his time. That he should be shot down as soon as France ordered mobilization, made it frightfully clear what high moral and intellectual values war destroys and to what level it drags us down, through the men and the ideas that come to the front with it. Whether or not the crime is expiated makes no difference. It is enough to note in one's memory the fact that a normal and patriotic youth should have thought he could serve his country by committing this murder.

* * *

With the imminence of a state of war every open and honest expression of opinion is made impossible in Germany. The newspapers may publish only what is agreeable to the Government. The right of assembly ceases, all intercourse is controlled. Civil authority yields to military authority. There is no longer any way to get a reliable idea of opinion in other parts

of the country. It makes a peculiar and profound impression to read only government news and see military instructions echoed with uncritical enthusiasm in all the newspapers. One must believe that there is no longer any such thing as criticism or opposition among the people. Even in the most intimate circles people seem to desire no real exchange of views, and to be satisfied with the revelations and orders of the state authorities.

Since the mobilization has been ordered it is disagreeable to me to sit in an automobile. I shall no longer use one until it becomes less conspicuous. I cannot drive about among the people, who now have to bear the onerous burdens of war.

Many of my associates have already departed to join their regiments. It really astonishes me that even our most pampered young men are eager to enter almost any regiment. No one does anything but talk of the general enthusiasm—or, at least, the

enthusiasm of the upper classes. No father complains because he sees his sons go to war. None holds back a son who wishes to volunteer. On the contrary, parents seem to urge their children to get to the front promptly.

They make me sad—the big bodies of reservists, who, accompanied by soldiers and gendarmes, march to the trains, each man carrying a pasteboard box containing his kit, some of them accompanied by young girls. I cannot look these people in the eyes. I feel as if I am an accomplice in a crime against them. That they all must go, and go whether they want to or not, has a good deal to do with my feeling about it.

Otherwise there is little excitement in this great industrial city. At night one hears patriotic songs in the streets. The hoarse voices of the young fellows have a brutal note in them, as if they wanted to challenge somebody to fight. They ex-

press no higher feeling than that. I believe, when they gather in crowds, that they think only of making an impression on one another and allow no higher idea to enter their heads. Moreover, this loosening of all the bonds of peace, this traveling into unknown lands, into an unknown future, with its wonderful adventures, have a great charm for people who have not yet settled down to the monotony of vocational and family life. Mostly the young people! That truly intelligent patriotism is their motive I am less able than ever to believe.

When the mobilization was expected, I went one evening to the Theater Platz of our city, where every day big crowds engaged in patriotic demonstrations and watched the bulletins and moving pictures which a printing establishment threw on the wall of its building. The crowds were dense and many policemen were in them. While one waited for the sensations on the

screen, young men, almost children, joined in singing songs, and, as if it were a lark, kept time with their hands and feet from a somewhat raised part of the square further back. But it never amounted to real singing, because others from time to time screamed out "Hurrahs," and "Hochs" in a strident chorus. Gratification that one could make a hullaballoo with police approval was unmistakable.

A few adults were in a serious mood and silent. They exchanged questions and guesses about the mobilization, while the usual wretched moving pictures of the Kaiser, the Crown Prince, and other national figures were thrown on the wall. In general the public that one saw, both as individuals and as a mass, was so unclean, rough, unrespectable and strange that I went away with a deep feeling of shame and disgust with the uproar, the shrill whistling, and the coarse laughter. The assemblage showed not a single beautiful or interesting char-

acteristic, no trace of the sort of feeling which exalts and elevates.

When one analyzes the so-called war feeling it all seems to come to this, that rough instincts and invincible ignorance still abound among the populace. War sentiment involves in no way the expression of a judgment as to the justice or injustice of a cause, which these people neither exercise, nor, from the point of view of those in authority over them, ought to be allowed to exercise.

Such are the masses—at once weak and powerful, a plaything in the hands of the master of the hour, but a raging ocean for the ship-wrecked. To-day they run ahead of the band for a guard mount. To-morrow they will make a demonstration in the cause of universal suffrage. The day, after their huzzas tickle the ears of princes who visit the town. But they are always more the victims of their love of sensations than the followers of a sure instinct or a settled conviction.

So they at last celebrate the arrival of the war, and, in default of other methods of expression, sing "Die Wacht am Rhein," or shout "Hoch der Kaiser!" But there is a false note in all this. One sees that they do not sing and shout what they really think. According to my observation, too, the people who must go to war are taking part in these demonstrations in diminishing numbers. The demonstrators are an entirely different class. Without engaging in the fighting they wax enthusiastic when things are going well. They rejoice when good management is shown. They complain loudly when they have to bear some burdens themselves, and would hoot down the leaders, if the war should fail in the end.

Those who are called to arms begin to shout their songs when they draw near the railroad station, because that is the customary thing to do. When they have first seen and tasted the frightful realities of the battlefield, and know that laurels are not

to be won lightly, then the spirit of the troops will change, even if they still do their duty. Enthusiasm at the start is cheap and easily excited. It can last, only when one fights for a better cause and a higher ideal than his opponent's and offers even the opponent the opportunity of freedom and progress. To wish merely to subjugate the enemy is, in the twentieth century, a fruitless beginning. If he is physically conquered, he will triumph morally in the end. And that is to-day the decisive thing in the eyes of the civilized world, even though that world is not represented by existing governments.

August 4th.

It is mysterious how quickly the craziest rumors find willing ears. Germany is said to be overrun with spies. The people have had their suspicions aroused against numberless persons and daily take action against them.

Unfortunately official requests have been made for popular coöperation with the Secret Service police and that has led to many dubious actions and misidentifications.

Many German officers and soldiers have been annoyed and arrested because people thought they were spies in disguise. Since the Government had made the undoubtedly false announcement that eighty French officers, traveling in automobiles and wearing Prussian uniforms, had attempted to cross the Dutch border into Germany, foolish people everywhere in Germany believed that they ought to establish the identity of every unknown person in uniform. On the strength of news from Berlin that Russian officers, dressed as nuns, had been arrested, and other spies caught in women's clothes, the populace everywhere began to hunt down suspicious-looking nuns and women.

It was said that many automobiles with

immense sums of money were on the way from France to Russia. Incited to seizures by the Government, the people interfered in such a stupid way with all auto-trucks that the pack of hounds had to be called off in order to avoid further obstruction of traffic. Now the authorities begin again to quiet the populace. It is very necessary, otherwise there will be a reign of terror.

Here are some instances of the nonsense officially spread abroad by the Wolff Bureau (the official German news agency).

At the very beginning of the scare: "A French physician with two disguised French officers tried to-day to poison a well in Metz with cholera bacilli. The spies were arrested and shot."

All over Germany newspaper extras printed this news in large type and added the most extraordinary comment.

I did not believe such an incident possible. Even amid the greatest confusion and excitement, normal intelligent Frenchmen

would not commit such atrocities. Unfortunately, I must admit that our people, as a rule, pay eager attention to lies of this sort. A gentleman who had long been in intimate touch with the best French literary and artistic circles; whose life and home bear the impress of French taste, and who, on that account, was not in the least a leader of opinion in Germany; who through ancestry, connections, and position is a representative of the most refined class of Germans, said to me calmly: "I believe it without proof. The French are like that."

And when the official denial came he said: "It's true all the same. They deny it only for the sake of preventing a panic."

Another of the false reports was this: "Germany's great tunnel on the border near Cochem has been destroyed. The hotel keeper Nicolai, of Cochem, and his son have been shot as the perpetrators of this crime."

On the following day the *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung* says that it has made a careful investigation of this Wolff story and declares that Nicolai is a former French citizen, naturalized in Cochem. It is a source of gratification, in the editor's view, that he was not a real German.

A day later the Land Council at Cochem announces that there is not a word of truth in the report of the destruction of the tunnel, that Nicolai is alive and is highly respected and that his son is serving with a Prussian detachment.

Such stupidity is amazing. How many political animosities may be traced back to such easily accepted, perhaps intentionally circulated, fabrications! The news has been printed everywhere in big type that France violated international law, since she began hostilities at the border without a declaration of war. Even if France had begun hostilities, this announcement would still be false. The opening of

hostilities could itself constitute a declaration of war. The claim that an official declaration must precede hostilities is not generally recognized by authorities on international law.

Besides this, mobilization had already been declared on both sides. The ultimatum to France had been delivered on August 1st. War was already announced. But the border skirmishes of which I speak were first reported only on August 2d. The German declaration of war on France, which followed on August 3d, was no longer necessary. You can only say, at the most, that we considered it worth while to make a formal declaration. According to German statements, Russia also crossed the border in the night of August 2d, after the period fixed by the German ultimatum had run out.

One hostile act imputed to France on August 2d, I don't believe in at all—that French aeroplanes dropped bombs in the

neighborhood of Nuremberg. This I hold to be a pure flight of fancy, because the aeroplanes had much more important work to do nearer the border. There is no single established case of an enemy plane showing itself in the interior of the country, although in all sorts of places planes were watched for feverishly and supposed enemy planes were often shot at. Probably our own planes were shot at, since people didn't know their markings or didn't think that they, too, could be patrolling the sky. I am strengthened in this conviction by the fact that orders were presently given not to shoot at planes flying overhead.

In every country, on occasions like this, there will be more or less hysteria and the most improbable and detestable crimes charged against an enemy will find credit. But it is my task to hold before my eyes and those of my countrymen our own faults and weaknesses, and not the enemy's. We ought not to say that the enemy also does

so and so. We must do better than he does. Then the enemy respects us and tries to do better himself.

I must put the crown on these pessimistic observations by calling attention to the conduct of the Kaiser himself. He entered into a lively exchange of dispatches with the Czar in which, emphasizing their cordial relations, he emphatically declares that Austria-Hungary desires no acquisition of Serbian territory and that therefore Russia ought to be satisfied. The Czar answers that the procedure of Austria-Hungary against Serbia can not be tolerated, but suggests that the Kaiser undertake a mediation of the differences between Vienna and St. Petersburg. The Kaiser declares himself ready to mediate on the condition that Russia take no military measures which would mean war. The Czar says that, because of Austria-Hungary's preparations, he cannot recall the Russian mobilization, but that, so long as negotia-

tions continue, Russia will take no hostile step.

As soon as we find out that Russia has mobilized all her forces, we dispatch our ultimatum and declare war. But we are not satisfied to stop there. The Kaiser publishes the dispatches exchanged with the Czar and allows official or semi-official statements to be circulated in which Russia is accused of the most shameful perfidy (*moskowitische Hinterlist*), and the person and character of the Czar are defamed in an unheard-of manner. Here we have a quarrel between two monarchs, in the market place, the manner of conducting which can never be condoned and which is neither necessary, nor politic, nor justifiable.

For everyone knows that the Czar was not a free agent in the matter, but was constrained by circumstances, and that the St. Petersburg Government did not want to allow a threatening opponent to benefit from

Russia's handicap of necessarily slow mobilization, any more than Germany was willing to renounce the advantages of her own ability to mobilize rapidly.

I can see no perfidy in Russia's public mobilization order. But even if there was perfidy, why does the Kaiser make a personal matter of it? Why must the Czar be morally demolished? Does it benefit the monarchical principle or even the Kaiser's own status thus to exploit and expose himself? He cannot believe that he stands all the firmer when he discredits the Romanoff dynasty, or that he would be more respected by the other heads of states, even if that were true which in the heat of the moment he bellows out to all the world.

Restraint would have been much wiser on his part. For he has frightfully debased the tone and attitude of our press and of the other guardians of public opinion, who, and at his signal and under the influence of

the example, cannot now do enough in the way of wholesale vilification.

We stand alone in this matter of calumniation. The English measure their words quite coolly and speak of the war without passion or hate, as if it were a "gentlemen's agreement." The French glory in themselves and their cause, but do not consider it their first duty to drag an opponent in the dust in a violent, offensive fashion, as we do.

And even if one points out to me that the press of this or that other country adopts, in part, an abusive tone, nevertheless the performance of the Kaiser remains unique among sovereigns. Neither the Czar nor the King of England nor the Emperor of Austria has uttered a single word personally in the controversy. The Kaiser will eventually, with this system of his, so expose himself and so burden himself with responsibilities that he will become impossible.

At present no one speaks of this. But in case things should go badly, they would

all blame him. And in case things should go well, the people would snatch the megaphone out of his hand. That the press now breaks out with the hateful cry *Vae Victis*, and again *Vae Victis*, is due in no small measure to the example of the "All Highest."

I cannot too often din it into the ears of the Germans that what is lacking in moral superiority cannot be replaced by force; that an enemy is not to be overcome by threats, but because of them becomes a hundred times more potent. It is no wonder that foreign voices declare Germany, not Russia, to be the really dangerous, brutal, and despotic country and indict the Kaiser as an embodiment of evil German instincts—a fomentor of trouble in Europe, who must be driven from power.

* * *

August 5th.

The Reichstag passed various measures yesterday without debate, including the

five billion credit. I received the same evening an abstract of the Wolff Bureau's dispatches about this sitting, and I am now reading the speech of the Imperial Chancellor. I stop and have a genuine sensation of horror as I read in it: "At this moment our troops are in Belgium. Necessity knows no law. We shall repair this wrong."

I scarcely had time to say how lamentably we shall now stand before Europe and before the smaller states, when I learned by telephone that England has just declared war on us. Immediately thereafter further Wolff dispatches come to my home—Sir Edward Grey's explanations in the House of Commons, which already foreshadow war with Germany on account of Belgium; the rejection of the German ultimatum to Belgium, permitting us an unhindered passage through Belgium into France.

I collect my thoughts and find that our irruption into Belgium means for us a fright-

ful moral expiation—that we have dealt more unscrupulously even than Bismarck did and that a victorious war will not reinstate us in the confidence of Europe or of the rest of the world.

That reasons of strategy had induced the invasion of Belgium was, of course, clear to me. Admitting the justice and urgency of these reasons, nevertheless our whole conduct toward Belgium was so brutal, so tricky, so against all political committals and obligations, so poorly prepared for by diplomatic means, that Belgium could not possibly assent without becoming contemptible for all time. Therefore, we could not expect compliance on the part of Belgium; for we ought to have considered among the possibilities of our policy the crushing of Belgium, the destruction of her cities, the annihilation of her armies and, even more, the oppression of her whole people, who would be obliged to oppose the invaders, even though with the extremest

reluctance. And a seizure of Belgium would have involved a certain delay, and an employment of German military forces which might scarcely fall short of that required for the prosecution of the most exacting campaign on the Franco-German border, leaving out of account the fact that the theater of war would have to undergo considerable complication and extension.

I went to-day among all those of whom I expected a clear view and a correct understanding of the act of violence committed against Belgium, and I did not conceal my disgust. Unfortunately, I found nobody who agreed with me. One said: "If we had not marched into Belgium, the French would have."

I answered: "I do not believe that. Why should the French commit themselves to such an adventure, which would scatter their already inferior forces? In any case we could have waited, without any danger, until the French had taken such a step.

News of the first French movement in that direction would have reached us in plenty of time."

The rumors in circulation to the effect that the French are already in Belgium are entirely incredible. One needs only to consider the matter a little in order to say to himself that in that case the Belgians would be taking hostile action against the French, just as they are now taking it against us. Belgium has long had no greater apprehension than a violation of her independence and neutrality. You can read in all the papers that before our entry into Belgium, sentiment there was not unfavorable to us. But even if popular sentiment had been entirely pro-French, I hold it to be absolutely impossible that the Belgians would have made common cause with the French. They were in no way convinced that France would win and they would have had every reason to fear our vengeance.

No, the Belgians were determined, just

like the Hollanders, to preserve their neutrality in every respect. Otherwise they would quickly have yielded to the Germans, whose power they feared most.

Another one said: "You must have confidence in our Great General Staff. It knew why it was obliged to march into Belgium, and would not have done so without the most imperative reasons. Presumably by threatening the French from their northern boundary, they will compel the French strategists to abandon the invasion of Alsace-Lorraine and to turn toward the north. What confusion this will cause among the French you can easily imagine. At the same time we shall break through by way of Alsace-Lorraine and envelop the enemy from two sides. Perhaps we shall only stand on the defensive in Alsace-Lorraine and reach Paris through Belgium—with much less bloodshed. However that may be, we ought not to criticize, but reserve our opinions."

I replied: "Strategical advantages may be promised by the invasion of Belgium, but I have heard no satisfactory reason which proves its necessity. There is a great difference there. The King of the Belgians, a German prince, said justly that strategical advantages do not supersede sworn agreements. Moreover, even the strategical benefits are lost to a considerable degree if we are not assured of an unhindered passage."

A third said to me: "We must go ahead whether we are right or wrong; whether it was a question of necessity or merely of arbitrary action in this Belgian matter makes no difference; the main thing is that we are the strongest. We must prove this to the world and dispose of everybody who opposes us by punching him in the face until he has had enough."

The speaker was one of the most highly educated and cultivated Germans to be found anywhere and, besides that, occupied,

as did all the other persons quoted above, a very prominent position.

I said to him: "I am astonished how little the world consciousness has been awakened in Germany. Even the Romans two thousand years ago would have been unable to rule the world on such a basis. Their power did not lie in their military strength, but mainly in their even justice and their goodwill toward greater and smaller peoples."

But it is not these qualities alone which the Germans of to-day lack. If German policy consisted merely of selfishness and calculation, it would, because of the lack of higher and nobler aims, still be less contemptible than it is to-day by reason of its strong infusion of brutality.

This will bring its own retribution, as soon as all nations perceive that they may any day suffer the fate of Belgium at Germany's hands. I respect the King of the Belgians because he would not debase

himself. His lot would have been shameful if he had allowed himself to retain his sovereignty through Prussia's favor and if the Kaiser, with gracious contempt, had patted him on the shoulder and testified thus to his sincere friendship.

It may be somewhat different with Luxemburg, which we have also seized. This country was too small to be able to defend itself even for a minute, and it is conceivable that the Grand Duchess protected her little Duchy and her people from a terrible fate, when she attempted no resistance. Since Luxemburg could also not have defended herself against the French, yielding to Germany was in a way justified. It remains to be noted that in Luxemburg, too, the French made no effort to break in first. So our simultaneous advance into Belgium gives a worse appearance to our invasion of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, whose population, like the Belgians, will have an opinion about Ger-

man morality which generations cannot efface.

* * *

August 6th.

No note of protest on Belgium's account in all our public and private opinion! The well-known Pastor Traub said in an article in the *Kölnischer Zeitung*, with a boisterousness characteristic of the Prussian Protestant type: "Whoever wishes to criticize this step is a traitor. The fact that the Imperial Chancellor has confessed our wrong makes it a right."

That is what the world has to expect from men who pose in Germany as liberal, radical, and unorthodox.

While there are in Germany no criticism and no exchange of opinion and one must choose between a corpse-like obedience or proscription, many large circles in England, we read, are protesting against the war. We are glad to hear that; but in our own

country one must sacrifice to authority reason as well as life and property. One may ask neither himself nor others whether a command emanates from humane convictions or is based on righteousness. And such a country believes that it is able to govern other countries, although it is itself founded upon compulsion and is controlled by opinion not freely arrived at!

The manner in which the Kaiser yesterday conducted himself with the party committees of the Reichstag is very characteristic of conditions with us. He says suddenly: "And now advance, all of you, and promise me with a handshake to be with me and to stick with me to the last breath."

Each one clasps the Kaiser's hand because, being in the Royal Palace, he can hardly do otherwise, and is reluctant to disturb the great occasion. This expedient to extract a promise, which could have been of value only if freely given, is very simple, but was surely unworthy.

It fits into the whole picture that the Kaiser immediately afterwards, dropping from the formal manner of speech into the colloquial, says to a Deputy who is about to go to the front: "Now we will thrash the life out of them," and accompanies it by an appropriate gesture with his arm. But all Germany jubilates over the inspiring vow and the unconventional phrase of the Kaiser.

The Kaiser also said that from now on he would recognize parties no longer, but only Germans. We shall see about that after peace comes and the warfare of parties begins anew. No party will fail to make greater demands than ever, and the disunity of domestic politics will become more frightful than it was before. Putting aside class, race, and religious conflicts, the antagonisms between the federated states will be increased, not diminished. Only the abolition of the Prussian hegemony and the destruction of the ruling ideas and classes

in Prussia could solidify the German peoples into a real nation.

It seems to me as if serious internal disturbances must come even during the war. The war enthusiasm, which to-day affects all circles, will soon die down. In my judgment the first great battles and losses will bring about a reaction to seriousness and then to war weariness. To-day many go freely into the army to whom the daily struggle for existence heretofore has been too hard; who wish to escape their obligations; who are eager to get ahead rapidly and look for large new opportunities in the period after the war. There is a special keenness to serve in the Landsturm, which has been called out in part and which will run no great bodily risks.

For many Germans it is an attractive prospect to be able to drift about, supported for a considerable period by the State, dressed in uniform and surrounded with comforts, freed also from the necessity

of giving any thought to the responsibilities with which they were previously burdened. The State has called us out; it must provide for everything. State, city, and private associations are organizing a thousand relief enterprises. Both now and later, so the soldier believes, someone will have to help him and his family. Both now and later the State, the community, and employers of labor will have to show him exceptional consideration.

But this state of mind will not last long. Opinion will change. Patriotic noise-makers will try to cry it down, but the heart of the masses will more and more urgently demand the return of the men in the field. The men in the field will themselves long more and more to get home, richer for a grisly experience and probably also for a deep disillusionment.

How long must the political wire-pullers wait after the war until this experience is forgotten or is softened so much in memory

that they can make an impression again on the people with their fairy tales of imminent peril and their forecasts of a glorious future? Ah, if the peoples of Europe, represented by real leaders, chosen from among themselves, would take their fate into their own hands; if they would learn to know themselves as they are; if they would formulate for themselves the principles according to which they wish to live, they would suddenly discover that they all think alike and wish the same things. The whole continent would become a single nation, tariff barriers would disappear, everyone could speak his own mother tongue, and no nation would want to oppress, dismember, or despise another.

The causes which still lead to wars do not grow out of the present-day views of the peoples of Europe and are not the expression of their most vital instincts. It is the alien ideas of a few for which the peoples must fight. The only perils are

those which these few have conjured up, but for which the masses of the people also must bear some responsibility. Credulous where their rulers are concerned, the peoples allow themselves to be made distrustful of one another and remain stupid sheep, filled with uneasy fears and superstitions. Nothing is more frightful than such dull herds, which any one, when need be, can inoculate with mental epidemics. They remain always intellectually blind; they do indifferently what is bad or what is good, without any inner knowledge. They yield to the mighty stream of mass movements, whether these movements are led by an angel, dominated by a devil, or incited by a ghostly phantom.

There should be no more such mass movements, either for good or for bad purposes. It should be as it is now with religions and sects, which are ready to set nations and families by the ears, but by which no war-like eruption can any longer be staged in

Europe, however intense and intolerant the religious prejudices of individuals may be.

* * *

August 7th.

Italy remains neutral, apparently because the condition of the Triple Alliance defensive treaty—an attack on Germany—has not been fulfilled. Further, perhaps, because she was not at any time from the beginning admitted into the confidence of Berlin and Vienna or asked her opinion, these two powers preferring to present to her an accomplished fact. Probably also because her undefended coasts do not permit her to reckon with England as an enemy.

Officially, a moderate tone toward Italy is recommended. There is a very good reason for this. That Italy would not march by the side of Austria-Hungary seemed to me always to be expected. The

Triple Alliance has demonstrated its value if Italy so far recognizes past obligations as not to engage in hostilities against Austria-Hungary, for which there would be much excuse and for which there is also much inclination on the part of the Italian people.

* * *

Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia only yesterday. This deliberation is noteworthy in view of the lightning-like action of the German Kaiser. What must it have cost the aged Francis Joseph, in the way of overcoming his personal reluctance, to agree to this declaration of war. I am firmly convinced that they importuned him and tricked him, never keeping him informed of what was really going on. He might very well have been persuaded into action against Serbia. But they had given him assurances that a further extension of the war was out of the question. Now, he will have war also with France and England

and will perhaps die while all about him the flames of this world conflagration are still blazing. He will believe that demons alone unchained the wild procedure of his Imperial Ally and that he only furnished the latter with aid pledged by treaty, while really his own Vienna entourage has either incited or really captured the Kaiser in Berlin.

Even now Francis Joseph seems to his enemies a knightly, sympathetic figure. No one casts a stain upon him, as upon our Kaiser; for personally he did not threaten, he did not cry aloud, he did not incite. When he turned to his people with an appeal, it was couched in warm and generous phrases, without any offensive and hateful expressions.

* * *

Our authorities are striving more and more energetically to allay the trouble which they themselves brought on—namely, the

search by the public for automobiles carrying enemy gold and for spies. This has become a peril for everybody. Many Prussian officers have been shot while on automobile tours. The official order now runs: "Watchfulness, but no spy panic."

August 8th.

Yesterday evening the news came that Liège had been taken by storm. The Army Commander, von Emmich, personally led the troops under fire. No one of us would have thought it possible that the first quickly mobilized troops could take such a fortress offhand. I was almost tempted to an involuntary pride over this exploit. But the frightful crime and the frightful sacrifices involved forbid such feeling.

To-day we hear of a bold naval stroke. A small unarmed steamer has laid mines at the mouth of the Thames, but is shot to pieces because it refused to surrender. At

the same time an English cruiser is destroyed by one of the freshly planted mines. There is a rumor that the German fleet will quickly seek a great sea battle. If the German fleet were destroyed, the greater part of the English fleet would be destroyed also. It seems to me that the German fleet ought to await quietly the progress of events on land. The English cannot do anything against the German North Sea coast. They cannot penetrate into the Baltic Sea.

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One can now form a rather comprehensive picture of the acts of violence committed at the outbreak of the war in the various countries against the subjects of enemy nations. These scenes, with descriptions of which all the newspapers are filled, will never fade from memory. I shall not recall that in Belgium, especially in Antwerp and Brussels, Germans were dragged from

their dwellings, thrown out of the hospitals, killed in the streets; that their stores were robbed and demolished, and that they were driven by thousands across the frontier to Holland in the most inhuman manner. For in Belgium there was such great animosity as to make it comprehensible that the police for a few days could not or would not protect the Germans.

But that also in France they proceeded no less brutally against the many thousands of innocent and harmless Germans who were surprised by the outbreak of the war, and, who, besides, did everything in order to make themselves inconspicuous, is a disgrace to European civilization. In England they were less violent, but a great number of Germans were arrested as spies, and it is to be feared that, owing to martial law and a biased public opinion, in most cases a noose awaits these unfortunates, who until now have tranquilly enjoyed the hospitality of England.

The spy hysteria seems to me a terrible madness, which the governments do not allow to subside, although it is almost as fantastic as the belief in witchcraft. One real spy is not to be found among ten thousand foreigners who have settled in another country and wish to stay there. Unless one wanted to do mischief merely with words and ideas! The spies certainly are quite a different class of people. Little news has reached us yet from Russia; but it is said that there, too, as in France, many peaceful Germans have been imprisoned, interned in remote districts, and compelled to perform hard labor for a living.

It seems to me that in this respect the German population conducted itself most decently, inasmuch as there was no incitement on the part of the authorities, as there was in the detection of spies. The Germans did not beat and insult Englishmen, Russians, and Frenchmen who wanted to leave the country. Foreigners liable to

serve in the army were detained after other countries had started doing the same thing. But they were well cared for.

I have nowhere heard of a systematic, or even occasional persecution of people merely because they belonged to an enemy nation. Excesses that occurred were directed against alleged spies and had almost exclusively Germans for their victims. There was nowhere hate against a foreigner on account of his being a foreigner. I know from my own experience that no one injured the many foreigners settled in my town, but that, on the contrary, everybody was ready to help them to get safely, comfortably, and without hindrance across the frontier.

An Englishman, in the thirties, was arrested only when it became known that Germans in England were being arrested. But a colleague of his had already been provided with a safe-conduct and was furnished with a conveyance. A young French engineer was assisted and enabled

to depart, regardless of his liability or non-liability to army service. I could cite many more such instances.

It was more natural to the German character to molest representative foreigners, who seemed responsible for enemy policy than private persons, who were as innocent of influencing events as were the masses of the Germans themselves. In fact, two outbreaks occurred at Berlin. When the Russian Ambassador and his staff were going in open automobiles to the railroad station, and some of his people, according to rumor, behaved rudely in the presence of the crowd, the Berliners used canes and umbrellas. The mob also smashed some windows of the English Embassy when the declaration of war by England became known, but was soon quieted by the Police President, who hurried to the scene. However deplorable these excesses are, they cannot be compared with the events in St. Petersburg, where the German Embassy

was demolished and an aged official, left to take care of the building, was torn to pieces; or with the occurrences in Paris, where the German Ambassador was threatened in the streets as well as at his house.

August 9th.

The General Staff kindles new exultation by the report: "Liège is in our hands." This report, it is thought, gives the lie to the rumors from abroad to the effect that we are not yet in possession of the forts. But I learn from a reliable source that some of the forts are still holding out. It seems, therefore, that our official military reports must be taken with a grain of salt.

Germany, in common with Austria-Hungary, promises the Poles "Liberation from the Moscovite yoke." If Prussia were at war with Austria, she would, in a similar manner appeal to the population of the glorious kingdom of Bohemia. The purpose is so dirty as to soil the noble word

"Liberation." Nor should we Germans dare to talk of "the Muscovite yoke." We wear a yoke ourselves, more decorative, to be sure, but even more galling. And we have subjected the Poles more systematically to infamous treatment than the Russians have. We continue to persecute the Danes and Alsatians to the point of death. But the Poles are to be allowed, for a certain period, to breathe the fresh air and to receive a better prison fare, in order that they may advertise to their brethren, who languish in Russia, the glory of Prussia, and encourage them to overpower the Russian jailer.

For it must be well understood that in Prussia no one intends giving the Poles anything at Prussian expense. The Prussian frontiers must remain inflexible, like the outlines of the hard-hearted, ignoble conception of the Prussian state. The purpose is simply to incite the Poles against the Czar because one happens to fall out

with him—to rob him of chattels, which we both once stole and partitioned between us. Prussia simply wants to make the war easier for herself. She has not a vestige of love or of esteem for the soul or body of the unhappy Polish people. I have always firmly maintained that the subjugation of Poland could never be achieved, even though three emperors should sit on the coffin of Polish freedom, because so long as the Poles lived they would defend themselves. I am therefore filled with bitterness to see what incitements are necessary in order to convert Prussia into a friend of the Russian Poles.

Only yesterday I had the opportunity to learn from the man who formerly elaborated the smart Polish expropriation policy, that the creation of Russian Poland into an independent state could not be conceded if all the Prussian Poles were to be embraced in it, after a correction of the frontiers favorable to Prussia. All owners

of large landed properties would have to be dispossessed and their estates given to such Germans as are taken over from Russia. The peasants could not, of course, be expelled, village by village, but arrangements would have to be made with the Russian Poles to insure a gradual absorption of the Prussian Poles. However absurd this idea may be, I know that it was a subject of lively discussion and was approved by many influential people.

August 11th.

To-day the Quartermaster-General declares to spellbound Germany that the High Command will tell the public everything, will keep nothing secret from it, or try to mince matters. It will keep silence only when prevented from speaking by strategical reasons.

After assuming this pose the General Staff announces to-day that some of the forts about Liège are still holding out.

True, most of us had learned this before; still one feels relieved to think that official information now coincides with private information.

Our newspapers announce that England has commandeered for her own use the completed and the almost completed ships which English private shipbuilding firms were constructing for Turkey. Official articles speak of this as an unheard-of violation of international law on England's part, since Turkey is a neutral country. Turkey is urged to expel all Englishmen within her territory. The whole world is called to witness this shameful offense against Turkey, which discloses the very contemptible policy of the English, in general and in particular. All countries are advised to avoid having any dealings with England in the future.

I cannot comment better on talk of this sort than by making the following observation: The War Department and the Marine

Office in Berlin have commandeered from the first day of the war all artillery and ship material under construction in Germany for foreign countries, without agreements of any sort with these countries, among which are Argentina, Norway, Brazil, Chile, Switzerland, Rumania, Greece, and and Bulgaria. Settlement with the Governments affected was left to the German private firms, whom the authorities naturally assured against loss. Germany thus censures England for doing what she herself has done for a long time on grounds of military necessity. One cannot carry vilification further. Moreover, Germany is not the guardian of Turkey, which in recent years has chosen quite different godfathers.

* * *

August 12th.

At the demand of England and France the Austro-Hungarian ambassadors in Lon-

don and Paris have left their posts. The French and English ambassadors are to quit Vienna as soon as they have delivered their Governments' declarations of war on Austria-Hungary. At last! The aged Kaiser certainly never believed personally that the step taken against Serbia would lead so far.

* * *

For the first time since the beginning of the war, the newspapers print news coming from abroad: for instance, telegrams from Paris which have reached Germany through neutral countries. Up to now this round-about route has been almost unused. We were, as regards the rest of the world, given over to the mercy of the few laconic announcements of the Wolff Bureau. It is to be hoped that the foreign press is to be put promptly and permanently at our disposal, even though only through the extracts which the larger newspapers publish. For

a comparison between domestic and foreign bulletins is necessary in order to get closer to the truth. It is hard to imagine greater contradictions, for instance, than those between the German and the French reports on the military operations in Alsace. The French announce their entry into Altheim and Mülhausen; the Germans announce that the French were unable to get a footing at any point at which they had crossed the border.

* * *

The female population of Germany is said to have shown itself in the war of 1870–71 too friendly to the French prisoners, to have nursed them by choice, to have relieved them and sympathized with them, while the German wounded were more or less neglected by their countrywomen and often had to be contented with bread and water. Veterans of the war of 1870–71 still look back with annoyance at that

experience and various German papers have taken occasion to warn German women and girls most emphatically against yielding this time to such inclinations. This seems not to have helped much, since the women of Düsseldorf are being now lectured because when the first transport of Belgian prisoners arrived they spoke to the captives in French and also offered them delicacies. While the intervention of the railroad station police is demanded, the press falls into so rude a tone against the formerly so esteemed daughters of Germania that I cannot resist an ironic remark about Teutonic gallantry. I can understand why the ladies feel so wonderfully attracted by those cattle cars out of which sometimes, for a change, no pale, blond countryman, with watery blue eyes, languishes for a cooling drink.

August 13th.

Yesterday evening an official announcement came that as a result of the battles

at Mülhausen and La Garde no French soldier was left on German soil. The papers add that the French proclamations were thrown into Mülhausen out of aeroplanes and were not brought there in person by the soldiery. Under such circumstances I do not know what to think of the entirely different French bulletins. The solemn and pathetic entry of the French (the announcement of Joffre to Poincaré about the first successes and the frantic joy of the Alsatians, the proclamation of Joffre to the Alsatian population, the congratulatory dispatches of the French Minister of War, etc.) had made me think that the French had established themselves on quite a different footing in Alsace.

* * *

To-day the big cruiser *Goeben* and the *Breslau* are on everybody's tongue. These two ships found themselves, after their bombardment of the harbors of Algeria,

in Messina, where they went to coal, and succeeded in escaping the English ships waiting for them to come out of port. How this was possible one cannot tell, except on fuller news. They cannot go to Pola; the Austrian fleet itself has long been blockaded there. Perhaps they are on the way to Constantinople? It seems as if Turkey wants to declare war on Russia.

August 14th.

The English a few days ago took the colony of Togo away from the Germans. Further activities in the colonial possessions will doubtless follow, although a war between white men is perhaps more shameful there than it is at home. It may be that the Japanese will help a little in the Pacific Ocean—to take away Kiau-chau, etc. But all that, with the stakes as they are at present, cuts no figure. And in any case is not to be avoided.

* * *

A gentleman who comes from Liège informs me that we took the last forts yesterday. The 42-centimeter guns, on wheels, which were forwarded there on August 10th (110 railroad axles for the two pieces) had destroyed these stubborn forts in two and a half hours. It does not create confidence in our official German news service that it announced the fall of Liège a week ago, without admitting that several important forts had not yet been taken.

* * *

We hear rumors that English troops have been landed at Calais. That seems to me more probable than a landing at Antwerp. In my judgment Belgium will not be the scene of great battles. But we shall be obliged to keep strong forces there in order to protect us against Belgian uprisings. Yet it is useless to conjecture about such matters. I am always tempted to do so because the blow against Belgium

seems to me so mean and odious that I would gladly see evidence produced of its needlessness. At any rate, I am satisfied that as a result of the Belgian battles more dirt than blood will stick to the laurels which the German troops win in this war.

Before the news came of our entry into Belgium the universal ferment had affected me, at least so far that I asked myself whether I ought not share, as a volunteer, the fortunes of our soldiery, without regard to my personal point of view and merely out of a natural impulse to be with and by those who fight and must suffer. But the attack on Belgium obliterated this feeling. Not even under compulsion would I now go along. Why have I convictions, if I do not remain true to them and stand up for them?

* * *

Universal military service is, in truth, a crime. However much I abhor war

between European states, its damage and horrors would be lessened immensely if only volunteer troops fought in it. The danger of war would be far less if there were simply armies of mercenaries, or of citizens who merely defended their own country. Improvements in machinery which have made it possible in recent times to mobilize gigantic masses and to throw them against one another have made the situation darker rather than brighter.

One can fight in various ways. The least worthy way is war, since victory in it does not demonstrate the better right. If one could make a compromise (because there are doubtless people who want to be fighters), then it ought to take the form that everyone should be free to choose the kind of fighting he will take part in. All leaders get themselves into a fatal position, even when they begin with the noblest aims, if they do not believe that their cause can be sustained through supporters

voluntarily flocking to their banner, but are confident of a fortunate outcome only when they can compel their fellow beings to shed blood. Should it be the result of this war that universal service and compulsory military training are banned, then one could hail the day on which the war broke out, even if Europe had by that time been reduced to a desert.

Indeed, there is a second way of escape which must not be forgotten, when one considers how Europe might find peace and concord. That way is the abolition of all customs barriers. They separate what naturally ought to be united and they create in every country an artificially nourished clique and also dissatisfied people, who want to attain by war what they are prevented from attaining in peace, chiefly because of tariff obstructions. If these walls are once broken down, frictions in the assessment of duty on various kinds of products will quickly vanish. For read-

justment comes very quickly and every country finds new possibilities of profit with which to replace those which have disappeared. The most important thing is this—that all shall come together and that no state shall stand apart. The removal of tariff barriers will be the beginning of fraternization in Europe, of the United States of Europe, of the uplift of the people and the spread of truth and good faith. Freedom of trade is the basic guarantor of unhindered progress in civilization.

August 15th.

At last I learn the truth about Liège. It is more unimpressive than even I, a skeptic, thought it would be. Yesterday's report was exaggerated. A person, who was commissioned by the Minister of War to examine the conquered forts and make preparations for their restoration, tells me what follows.

He had difficulty in discharging his mis-

sion, for on the day of his arrival in Liège, the 12th of August, only one fort was in our hands. The others had not yet surrendered. Even the Minister of War seems to have interpreted the news of the fall of Liège just as the rest of us did—that is, in the sense that at least a majority of the forts had been taken. As a matter of fact, the troops made their way into Liège around a single fort which they had captured and when they got into the city were unable to go any further.

During the presence there of this eye-witness a second fort, bombarded by 21-centimeter siege guns, had surrendered. Also a third fort, against which two 42-centimeter cannon had been tried for the first time. They expect now that the other forts will fall quickly. But on the morning of August 14th, when my informant, who had been with the 42-centimeter guns, began his return journey, the Germans had only three forts.

Therefore I regard as a swindle the official announcement of the conquest of Liège and the sharp denials of all statements to the contrary. The extraordinary jubilation over an unheard-of, unique fact in world history was not justified. Liège is not a fortress of the first rank. The city itself is unfortified. The twelve outlying and widely separated forts were garrisoned with artillery only, and no infantry. The Belgians had also been unable to establish lines of defense between the forts.

If the penetration into Liège was not so wonderful a military feat, the reduction of the forts amounted to even less. My artillery expert, who was present, observed that the two huge German siege guns fired at a distance of 8,000 meters at the third fort, which made no answer, in exactly the same manner as we fire in peace times on an artillery proving ground. The guns were surrounded by a great swarm of officers, who wanted to see them work. The

artillery observation posts, visible from a great distance, could be pushed far ahead toward the enemy forts without being subjected themselves to any return fire.

After some forty-five shots the invested fort hoisted the white flag and the garrison of about 350 men surrendered, without having suffered any losses. The moral effect of the heavy shells and of the gases they released had caused the garrison to weaken. The concrete structure of the fort showed big rents. But the guns had remained intact.

In the opinion of my informant most of the German losses were caused by the Belgian populace. On the trip to Liège his auto was fired on several times.

From his comments, which support those of officers of the troops, some such picture as this, of the situation, may be drawn.

The Belgian people had made no preparations for putting difficulties in the way of the German invasion. But when the protest

of the Belgian Government and the appeal to England for aid were published, the whole country became violently excited. Belgian troops, which might have resisted the invasion, were first available only at Liège. And there everything was in confusion. At the main railway stations scattered groups of men formed, attempted to defend themselves and shot our soldiers out of houses or from behind barricades.

It may also be that this sort of warfare was begun by persons who were soon to enter the Belgian military service or who belonged to the citizen militia, but had not yet left their homes. They may have been under some semblance of military organization and in uniform. Perhaps it was a regular home defense organization, which shot out of houses before the occupants had abandoned them.

However you explain it, suddenly and on all sides our soldiers marching through Belgium were subjected to fire from houses

and from hiding places. Many of our officers and men were killed in this way. Thereafter our soldiers fired into the houses, stormed them and set fire to whole streets, so that defenseless and innocent people, women and children, were slain. Entire towns and villages were destroyed.

For example, Herve, a little city of 5000 inhabitants, is a mere mass of ruins—no living being left, no house spared, all the contents of the dwellings thrown into the streets; in short, a picture of almost incredible devastation. And since, in addition, wounded German soldiers were frightfully maltreated and murdered, and even Red Cross flags were not respected, the procedure of the German troops against innocent and suspected alike, without regard to age or sex, became harsher and harsher.

One or two cases which my informant knew of personally, are here noted. In a certain locality shots were fired from houses at troops passing through. German sol-

diers push in from all sides and open a murderous return fire. When everything becomes quiet my informant goes with an officer into the place and sees some soldiers dragging four men and three women out of a house. The soldiers say that there was shooting from this house—that the seven ought to be executed.

The officer answers: "Some of them may be innocent. Bring them first before your superiors, so that they can be questioned in their own language."

A quarter of an hour later, as the two returned through the same street, they saw lying before the house the bodies of the four men and three women, around which a group of shrieking, almost hysterical children sprawled.

It is no wonder, as my informant said, that when German soldiers are approaching, crowds of Belgians throw themselves on their knees, lift their hands, to show that they are unarmed, and beg for mercy.

As the 42-centimeter guns, in the presence of my informant, were brought into position before Liège, an old man, who wore a Red Cross band, was seen sitting near by. They seized him and demanded his identification papers. He had only a printed slip which stated that the bearer belonged to the Belgian Red Cross. As this was altogether unsatisfactory, they made preparations to examine him more thoroughly. The old man knelt down, expecting death, and asked only that a small package, which he took out of his pocket, should be given to his wife, who lived at such and such a place.

My informant took pity on him and put in a good word for him. Thereupon two soldiers were ordered to take him away and turn him loose. He could thank his luck that they didn't make short work of him.

Enough. The dreadful misery of this peaceful people overwhelms me—a people, which, according to German reports, only a few days ago received the first German

refugees from France with the words: "Salut, messieurs; bonjour, mesdames; vous êtes sauvés; vous êtes en Belgique." [Welcome, gentlemen; good day, ladies; you are saved; you are in Belgium.

August 16th.

News from Berlin. A gentleman who conferred the day before with the Secretaries of State for the Marine and for Foreign Affairs, as well as with high military officials, is my source of information. All are in the best of humor, and highly confident of victory. In a few days the German armies will be going over France like a steam roller. Things have run like clock work, and will keep on running just as smoothly. To-morrow the Kaiser is to visit field headquarters. But the general inclination is to stay in Berlin, where the Great General Staff works more quietly and comfortably than it could in any offices near the front.

The long distance telephone connections are working wonderfully; the general staff has almost every battalion on the wire and possesses a remarkable general picture of the location and composition of all the fighting units, even of the smallest. There is no doubt that of all our opponents it will be France who pays the reckoning. With England the situation is very curious. The German fleet has looked in vain for the English fleet, which is nowhere to be found as far north as Scotland. The battle fleet has returned to port, since it could not maintain a base of operations very far away from home.

The submarine flotilla has gone all the way around Scotland and has lost only a single U-boat (U-15). The supposition is that England wishes to avoid a battle, in order not to weaken her sea power; perhaps also because with a considerable portion of the public, the war is not popular. England will see to it that France alone bleeds.

Sir Edward Grey has expressed most cordially his regrets to Ambassador Lichnowsky, who in a rather stupid manner allowed himself to be drawn into an interview after the rupture of diplomatic relations. In Sir Edward Grey's words England's hope of avoiding a conflict in arms with Germany is indicated. At all events it is a beautiful dream on France's part that England will at any near date land forces on the Continent which will amount to anything.

Almost equally strange is the attitude of Russia. She seems also to have left the French to their fate. Nowhere is there any hint of an offensive. The Russian forces have been withdrawn everywhere about one hundred and fifty kilometers from the border, except a little cavalry. The whole territory between has been devastated by the Russian soldiers, and the harvests have been destroyed. If the Russians imagined that we would follow them into the interior

of the country, they deceived themselves; it would not be necessary for us to do that. We have the means of destroying Russia without fighting her—merely by instigating insurrection in the border provinces and facilitating their secession from Russia. Finland, the Baltic provinces and cities are to be independent; Russian Poland is to become once more a kingdom; Bessarabia is to go to the Rumanians; the Caucasus provinces, Armenia and Persia are to go to the Turks.

An understanding on the part of Rumania, Bulgaria, and Turkey is already making progress. In a few days formal adhesion of these three countries to the Triple Alliance will be accomplished. The *Goeben* and *Breslau* will even before that appear in the Black Sea, will destroy the Russian fleet, and will bombard ports and cities, so demonstrating to the three powers concerned that they have nothing to fear from Russia.

Things look bad only at Kiau-chau.

There are signs that the Japanese intend to take it. Then it will naturally be lost to us for a long time—until Germany can eventually settle with the Japanese.

As far as Belgium is concerned everything is going according to program. We shall never surrender Liège; we are establishing ourselves there as if it were domestic territory. Namur does not interfere at all with our operations, as planned. In a few days an advance will come on the entire line and then everything will happen just as it was meant to happen. England is apparently trying to induce Rome to start an intervention. We hope that Italy will not be so simple as to accept this crown of thorns, but will remain unflinching in her neutrality. More than that cannot be asked of her.

A very rosy prospect.

August 18th.

The mobilization of the troops is supposed to be complete. In our newspaper world

there is scarcely a breath while the first test is awaited. There will be continuous fighting for many days before, under present circumstances, the announcement can be made that entire armies have actually been defeated. Foreign newspapers bring news of German reverses in Belgium. Since these reports come from Dutch sources, it is to some extent clear from them that the German troops have not been able to push forward so easily and have suffered considerable losses, due to the fact that the Belgians have ably defended themselves. Apparently the German advance to Brussels is definitely frustrated. I had supposed that the Germans had no intention of going there.

From the neighborhood of Strasburg our authorities report a little incident which has a comical flavor. A Strasburg foot artillery regiment has allowed itself to be deprived of all its artillery in the Schirmeck district, and as the report says, has returned to Strasburg without casualties. "They

lost their cannon, but not their courage." This incident should be taken as a warning not to be too daring or incautious. I permit myself to draw the conclusion that there are still some Frenchmen on German soil, since Schirmeck is not very far away from Strasburg.

To-day's official bulletin informs us that the forts of Liège were really taken one after another. But it gives no specific dates and suggests that all this happened some time ago. At the same time the press publishes a communiqué of the Belgian Government, dated August 10th, which says that the enemy has taken Liège, but that the forts are still intact, the Germans having broken through between them. To this absolutely true statement the newspapers append insulting comments on the lying habits of the Belgian Government. One would gladly turn away from these self-righteous and abusive barbarians, who are themselves only dupes, because they cannot

read critically the official statements of their own Government.

I shall, however, in order to remove every doubt in regard to the forts, introduce a private letter of the former War Minister, von Einem, dated August 14th, which I saw yesterday. He writes that he is in front of Liège and has under his command the 42-centimeter guns which arrived at Liège on the evening of August 12th, and have since done wonderful work. Five forts have now fallen. He has very tranquilly delayed attacks on the forts until these heavy guns should arrive. Previously only a single fort, whose commandant failed in his duty, was surrendered. The creation of this gap enabled us to get into Liège and to establish ourselves there.

It is clear from this that the Belgian account of the 10th of August is accurate and that the German communiqués were misleading. If now Berlin announces that all the forts are in our hands, but gives no

dates, one can be sure that only to-day did the last fort fall, and then only on account of the fire of our heaviest artillery.

Also the French did not lie when they spoke of their entry into Alsace and of the jubilation of the Alsatians. It was we who were the liars. The truth came out this way. While the authorities up to now had been suspiciously cordial in praising the Alsatians and Lorrainers for their good German sentiment, their correct attitude and their genuine enthusiasm for the war, now we read quite different announcements from the military and civil officials in Alsace and Lorraine. It seems that this canny population has exhibited great hostility toward the German soldiery and has made common cause with the French troops. Threats are made that every village out of which shots have been fired by non-combatants at a German soldier will be leveled to the earth and that the burgomaster will be executed. It is further announced that

French soldiers are even now kept in concealment in Mülhausen. There is a death penalty for this crime, and the owner of the house, even though not its tenant, will be shot, etc.

This is satisfactory evidence that the French have really found a sympathetic reception in Alsace and did not reach Mülhausen only with their aeroplanes. A letter of a Catholic army chaplain, written from Mülhausen, gives us even clearer information. The press was allowed to publish this letter because the authorities in the *Reichsland* are now willing to let the mask fall.

The chaplain says that the entry of the French into Mülhausen was a triumphal procession. Already in the outlying villages the people had loaded them with flowers, and, weeping with joy, had greeted them as deliverers. At Mülhausen a great number of soldiers marched in with bouquets on their bayonets and were effusively

received with all sorts of attentions and with glowing addresses. The populace destroyed and burned the barracks at Mülhausen. Then German troops reoccupied the city. The population treated them with silent but intense hostility.

Conclusion: The Germans circulate truth or falsehood as it suits the purposes of the moment.

August 19th.

Minister of State Delbrück gives orders that all witnesses of outrages against Germans in Belgium shall submit their testimony, in order that a true and comprehensive picture of those atrocities may be obtained.

* * *

Bernard Shaw writes in a newspaper that it is necessary to exorcise the spirit of Potsdam in order to be able to love once more the Germany of Goethe and Beethoven. Nobody can love the Germany of

Bismarck, with her mailed fist and distorted ambition. For the sake of justice, England, heavy of heart, must to-day prevent Germany from destroying other countries. When this object is attained and Germany is brought back again to reason and civilization, England will intervene in her behalf in case she is threatened from Russia.

This is the way, in my opinion, in which all fair-minded and intelligent foreigners are thinking. It is a lie to maintain that they long for the enfeeblement and dismemberment of Germany in order to be able to despise her, as they used to do.

* * *

Indications are multiplying that Japan is preparing to take Kiau-chau. The Japanese are apt students of European diplomacy, and will now and on every future occasion of discord in Europe unscrupulously promote their own interests in so far as the opportunity is offered them.

In this connection I recall a discreditable scene in Berlin at the very outbreak of the war. Some blockhead had spread the rumor that Japan would take advantage of Russia's preoccupations to strengthen herself in Manchuria. Although Japan might have taken such a step in her own selfish interest, without any regard for the interests of Germany, an immense mob of shouting Berliners flocked to the Japanese Embassy and for hours kept yelling themselves hoarse, until an official of the Embassy appeared on the balcony to say that he could neither confirm nor deny the rumors concerning Japan's attitude toward Russia, as he had received no instructions. The crowd then had to look for other excuses for jubilation. At any rate they demonstrated their political childishness and utter lack of dignity before Japan's diplomatic representatives.

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The letters from participants in the cam-

paign, which our newspapers publish without any critical examination, are becoming a veritable nuisance. The press constantly asks for more such letters from the field, as though it were not aware of the nonsense they contain. Boasting, excited, ignorant soldiers naturally write the crudest exaggerations, whether about victories or atrocities.

They carelessly mingle their personal experiences with current rumors and with what they themselves read in the newspapers. This would not be so bad, if only their relatives at home were to be edified by such missives. It gets worse when correspondence of this sort is lavishly and systematically reproduced in display type, as though it came from responsible and trustworthy news gatherers.

From these sources we read repeatedly that concurrently with the taking of Liège all the Liège forts were captured in a heroic storming operation. The editors add abusive remarks about our lying enemy, who

has denied the loss of the forts. Nothing is done officially to establish the truth and to save the credit of the enemy. On that account I cannot refrain from introducing, perhaps superfluously, one more piece of evidence—the report of an officer who was with the 42-centimeter battery:

> *Liège, August 16th.* In the four days in which it participated in the fight against the Liège forts the battery has shot to pieces its targets. The fort of Pontille was compelled after forty-three shots to display the white flag. Yesterday the fort of Loucin was reduced to a ruin in nineteen shots. To-morrow we go on to Namur, since to-day the last Liège fort fell.

Of the same value in the way of evidence as the soldiers' letters are the statements of hysterical German fugitives: for example, that they saw French troops on August 1st, at Erquelinnes, in Belgium. Probably these poor people could not distinguish between Belgian and French soldiers. But their

assertions are spread before the German public as evidence that France was the first to violate Belgium's neutrality.

Especially suspicious is the always anonymous form: "A gentleman, who crossed the Franco-Belgian border in the night between July 31st and August 1st, etc."

As panic in an ignorant herd is more frequent and more frightful the bigger the herd is, so our great German Empire seems to allow itself to be distracted to an unusual degree by baseless rumors. Some days ago I mentioned as incredible our first announcement with regard to the beginning of hostilities by France—namely, the bombing of Nuremberg by French aeroplanes. I did not believe it, in spite of the fact that the Imperial Chancellor alluded to it in the Reichstag.

Now I read that the French Minister President, at the sitting of the House of Deputies on the outbreak of the war, formally declared this charge to be false. One

should think that in such a case it would be an easy thing to establish the facts. But apparently the Nurembergers themselves believe in the bombs, although they never saw any traces of them. An announcement by the authorities carries more weight with Germans than any personal investigation on their own part does. And if one has once renounced his own judgment in favor of the authority of the state, then the resulting non-critical mental tendency must show, even when the state's authority is not in question.

Only one example of this, among many. Recently there came from Wilhelmshaven a couple of serious-minded men, clever in their profession, graduates of a university. They had been sent there on a mission and they returned with the statement that they had seen a wrecked English airship lying in the streets of that city. The news was so interesting that we sought more definite information by telephone from the Wilhelms-

haven authorities. There was absolutely no foundation for the story.

August 20th.

Pope Pius X. died to-day. His death is a symbol of the collapse in this war of his church, its teachings, and its morals. Europe has extinguished the light—amid the clash of swords, curses, and groans. Who will bring a new light?

August 21st.

A Japanese ultimatum yesterday demanded the unconditional surrender of Kiau-chau. The Germans have marched into Brussels. With these weighty tidings comes the news of a very great and, for the Germans, successful battle in Lorraine—on a battlefield larger than that operated over by all the armies of 1870. The French are everywhere in retreat and are being pursued. Many thousands of prisoners and much artillery material have been

captured. The results of the battle cannot yet be estimated.

The poor French! With us there is every confidence that they will pay the reckoning and that no one will really help them. Our Government had predicted that openly many times in Paris. President Wilson has already offered his services as a mediator—somewhat prematurely. France has accepted the offer with thanks, accompanied by reproaches directed against Germany.

* * *

To-day an exchange of dispatches between William II. and the King of England is published. The idea that France should remain neutral was, according to these dispatches, taken up by Sir Edward Grey on August 1st. The German Government on the same day agreed not to attack France if England should guarantee France's neutrality.

One can scarcely assume that France had decided to remain neutral, especially since, as a result of Germany's military measures, it was too late for further negotiations. The dispatches leave the impression that a twenty-four or forty-eight hours' postponement of Germany's mobilization might possibly have given another turn to the situation.

* * *

So far as the Japanese are concerned, I do not assume that England incited them. I believe that she could not hold them back. Will the Chinese fight against the Japanese because they (the Chinese) want Kiau-chau for themselves? Will the United States of North America see to it that Japan restores the German dependency to China? Eventually the Japanese will conquer China. All European possessions in Asia will then be threatened. England and France will be hit hardest of all.

August 22d.

Whatever significance yesterday's battle may have had, I can see in it only the first scene of the first act of a protracted tragedy. Very probably in course of time these victories over France will become insignificant in perspective and practically fruitless, because new combinations will demand new efforts and sacrifices, so that finally both victors and vanquished will sink back into the same condition of misery and barbarism, unless a strong hand and a strong head interfere opportunely to call a halt.

To-day we read that the military authorities have taken possession of the great Belgian steel works of John Cockerill, in Seraing, near Liège. This private firm also made war material and its plant must now be turned over to the Germans on the plea of military necessity. The manager of the works is displaced and interned. A Prussian colonel becomes the head of the establishment.

I should like to hear the German outcry, if the French, in case they invaded Germany, should take such liberties with private property. When we find ourselves the weaker party in any affair, we demand of the other party treatment which we never vouchsafe when we are the stronger.

* * *

Scruples are certainly not a weakness in the leading circles of the New Germany. These people are considerate only when they doubt their own power. The populace must, however, preserve its morals, so as to be the apter instrument of a brutal policy. To-day some artifice must be resorted to in order that the sheep herded within the German fold shall contentedly be converted into an army of elephants, whose feet are to trample down every living thing beyond our borders.

This training is administered in many ways. They tell the people that state

morality and private morality operate, and must operate, in two entirely different spheres. At the same time an example of the greatest piety is set. From all palace balconies, from all ministry chambers, from all military camps we have been continually admonished in the past few weeks to stream into the churches; to fall on our knees; to invoke a just God, who guides our cause and protects us when we are persecuted and assailed; to praise Germany's God, who will lead us victoriously over the entire world, because he can find no better use for the garden of his creation than that we should fill it with our camp fires.

I hope there are many who do not kneel and who do not pray—at least not to this God and not for such divine favor. Better sit still and meditate and then evince in self-liberation the power and the faith which we now show in slavery. Disgusting hypocrisy and cunning, contempt for the people, and criminal anxiety manifest them-

selves in this official piety. It aims at nothing but the sanctification of falsehood, the adoration of brutality, the deification of William II.

* * *

Recently the commander-in-chief of the Russian army, the Grand Duke Nicholas, promised the Poles liberation and unification with their brothers in Prussia and Galicia. He probably means, add the papers, under Russian suzerainty. In my opinion, present-day Prussia and present-day Russia are adversaries worthy of each other. The poor Poles would do well to be wary and to distrust both; they owe no gratitude for Grecian gifts, which they can turn to use only by exercising the greatest circumspection.

* * *

I recently read that a small Westphalian newspaper had been confiscated and suppressed, and the editor thrown into prison

because of an article saying that Germany must lose the present war. This measure of discipline is generally approved. But in view of that approval such a to-do ought not to be made about the unanimity, harmony, and enthusiasm of public opinion, as is now being made in the press of all parties.

The most rigid censorship prevails among us. Only articles approved by the military authorities may be published. The provincial newspapers are required to take their news matter from the strictly controlled Berlin press. Two editors of such a Chauvinist newspaper, as the *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung* have been arrested for making a few vague statements about military movements without permission.

If such Draconian severity is exercised in dealing with trivial offences, one can imagine what a fate awaits a man who dares to utter a truly free word.

The military governor of Cologne has

just prohibited the making of controversial comments in connection with the death of Pope Pius X. The present glorious concord must not be disturbed. Those who show a refractory spirit will be prosecuted without mercy. Religiously also we are being suddenly unified by force—the unification to last until it is desirable to set us to quarrelling again. By such means a wonderful degree of tranquillity can be obtained in Germany for a considerable period of time.

I called the attention of a high official to the contradiction involved in the suppression of all opinion except that of the "Hurrah for the Government" kind and the simultaneous exploitation of the complete unity of popular sentiment. He replied: "It would not do in Germany at such a time to permit the free expression of opinion or to tolerate critical comment. The fact that all circles obey and do not kick against the pricks makes a fine and

powerful impression. The means that are employed must not be taken into consideration."

To put it in other words: He is much impressed because nobody dares to risk liberty and life in a hopeless struggle against the authorities. It must not be forgotten that the day before mobilization all Germany was declared in a state of war and siege; in many districts martial law was proclaimed. Under such circumstances it is no wonder that everybody submits—all the more so, since the war has separated friends and relatives and the convictions of many have been shaken by the hope of victory.

But let distress and defeats come, and the Potemkin village of national unity will be blown away, despite the props of military law. If any one in Germany to-day, enthused by our victorious progress, should say gloatingly that it is only a matter of a week or two before a revolution breaks out in Paris, he might be right, provided

that the French army had been already destroyed. But it would not be any different in Germany, if Germany should lose the war. In fact, it would not be different in any of the belligerent states, England, perhaps, excepted.

What follows is also characteristic of German leaders of public opinion. They record with satisfaction every English utterance against the war, against the London Government, against the alliance with Russia or Japan; every English criticism of war finance or of war legislation affecting commerce—in short, every manifestation of opposition. But they do not seem to consider for an instant that even to-day everyone in England may speak freely and will not concede an infringement of that right, and that this is a sign of England's greatness and security. Still less do they think of allowing their own people to speak freely and to satisfy themselves of the justice of German policy.

August 23d.

Since yesterday there is talk of strong Russian forces in East Prussia. To-day it is announced that the army of the Crown Prince of Prussia is advancing victoriously on both sides of Longwy, and that the Crown Prince of Bavaria stands between Lunéville and Blamont. From a private source I know that the day before yesterday one of the new forts of Namur fell, that four Austrian 30.5 howitzers have arrived there and that the defence of Namur is far better organized than that of Liège.

* * *

The German Government has broken off relations with Japan without replying to the Japanese ultimatum. The former ambassador in Tokio bitterly complained to a friend about the maladroit policy we have been pursuing for years in Japan. We have offended the Japanese again and again on quite unessential points. We

have repeatedly repelled them when they wanted to coöperate with us.

Of course, since the outbreak of the war there has been a general feeling that German diplomacy has failed everywhere. Some say that is because it lived from hand to mouth and not according to comprehensive plans. I am of the opinion that in view of the character of the Kaiser, his power, his inconsistency, and his continual interference, it could have done no better. Only the man who danced to his tune could stay in office, and everyone wanted to stay in office. For there are very few people in Germany who have convictions and for their sake renounce offices and dignities. They ask: "How can I hold on? How can I advance?" But not: "What do they ask of me? Does it agree with my real views?"

To me the Foreign Office has always seemed a confused, narrow-minded, exclusive body of bureaucrats which received

its directions from outside and did very little on its own initiative. Accordingly I contend that this office is responsible for the war, at most only by reason of its incompetency, and not because it willed the war.

The present Imperial Chancellor (von Bethmann-Hollweg) exercises no real initiative in his foreign policies. The Secretary of State for the Foreign Office (von Jagow) is a smart skeptic, who thinks himself that he is in the wrong place. During the decisive period before the war he was on his wedding trip. His Under Secretary of State, who till then had had little to say, utilized the opportunity to urge an aggressive stand. He acted under the direction of the higher authorities. He was not himself a controlling factor. That after the crime of Serajevo the Foreign Office did not get into touch with Foreign Offices of other Governments and did not keep in touch with them, is a proof of its incapacity. If the Kaiser and those who surround him

had suggested such a feeling out process, the Foreign Office would have worked feverishly. Especially striking is the fact that the German Government failed to get into touch with Italy in time. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was, until very recently, for some reason or another, of the opinion that relations with Italy had so materially improved that she would not hesitate long before marching with Germany. If I remember rightly, he said that he had found a new basis for a Mediterranean policy and had come to an understanding with Italy upon that basis.

I could never believe that. I always held the alliance with Italy to be a blunder, because it would never stand a real test. General public opinion in Italy is hostile to Austria and friendlier to France than it is to us. In opposition to this public opinion no Government in Italy can guarantee aid of a military sort, even if it wants to, which is not the case now.

The press of all shades of opinion is at present against us and demands either neutrality, or adhesion to the Entente, or that advantage be taken of the difficult position of Austria. So German diplomacy exerts itself at the last minute through all sorts of agents to win over the Italian press and to realign the Italian Government with Germany, by means of representations and promises. Naturally they try also to capture the members of Parliament. This campaign will not succeed. Even if it should succeed, the adherence of Italy would be spiritless, ineffective, and dearly bought. In the meantime, according to trustworthy announcements, both Italy and France have withdrawn their troops from the Franco-Italian border.

Recently great hopes have been based on Turkey. But to-day they say at the Foreign Office that the situation is very uncertain. It is only a matter of hours before Turkey decides for Germany or for

the Entente. The German warships at Constantinople await the word to break into the Black Sea. The necessary munitions, mines, etc., and five hundred seamen are already on the way in several trains to Constantinople. Originally the munitions for the *Goeben* had been dispatched to Pola. If nothing intervenes, a considerable quantity of artillery and munitions, for the Turks themselves, will be forwarded in a day or two.

Great stress is laid on the prospective adhesion of Rumania, which could strike at the heart of Russia through Kiev. But Rumanian relations with Austria-Hungary have grown worse and worse in recent years. The alliance was always a somewhat secret arrangement between the two monarchs, and the present Rumanian Government fights shy of it. About a year or more ago definite plans were worked out for coöperation between the two countries in case of war with Russia. But since the protest of Aus-

tria-Hungary against the Treaty of Bucharest, the last vestige of good-will on Rumania's part has vanished. She began at once to cultivate friendly relations with France, Italy, Greece, and even Russia.

In spite of his personal influence, the King, who remained always pro-German, was powerless to fight against the sentiment which inspired all classes and all political parties, as he had begun recently to swim with the current. I am convinced—and I know Rumania pretty well—that Germany would have found Rumania on the side of her enemies, if the European War had broken out a year later. It was the prevailing opinion already that Rumania ought to cut loose from Hungary and that the Russian peril should no longer be taken seriously.

Even if the condition of the Rumanians in Siebenbürgen had been alleviated, it would have made no difference. As a matter of fact, Germany could not have

brought that about, although, according to the Rumanian idea, it might have been accomplished by an earnest effort on Germany's part.

The Rumanians believe that the real failure was in Berlin. They had no hope so far as Austria-Hungary was concerned, and the alliance was abandoned because of Berlin's shortcomings, not Vienna's. The Rumanians speak of Germany's favorable intervention on behalf of the Bucharest Treaty as an isolated, gracious gesture, not in itself the result of a consistently developed policy. The Rumanians have often complained in Berlin of their trying relations with Austria-Hungary and emphasized the fact that they wished a more direct association with the German Empire, from which no conflicts of interest estranged them.

But Berlin always referred them back to Vienna, which amounted to a slighting of their most urgent requests. Latterly the Rumanians wanted an assurance from Ber-

lin that they should inherit the Siebenbürgen, when the time was ripe for it. In that case they would gladly have deferred all demands until the demise [of Austria-Hungary] was imminent.

The dissolution of Austria-Hungary—sooner or later in the course of the twentieth century—is an article of faith [and a very comprehensible one] among the peoples of Eastern Europe. And I share their belief.

Now that war has come, we can regard neutrality on Rumania's part to be the most that is attainable. Rumania might be willing to go against Russia, if Russia stood alone, although the condition of the Rumanians in Bessarabia is far better than the condition of the Rumanians in Siebenbürgen. But she will never go against Russia so long as that involves enmity to France, whom she loves, or to England, whom she esteems as the pacific arbiter of the quarrels of Europe. To any one who

is not satisfied with neutrality on Rumania's part I say—and say positively—that something even worse is to be expected in case the war doesn't come to an end through speedy and decisive victory for Germany.

From these few examples one sees that the idea of the German public that the Foreign Office has done poor work, is comprehensible. Everywhere where the Germans hope for support they must also reckon on the possibility of enmity.

August 24th.

The German victories in Lorraine proved to be quite considerable. It seems that six armies are operating in the West. The commanders named are von Kluck, von Bülow, Duke Albert of Würtemberg, the German Crown Prince, the Crown Prince of Bavaria, and von Heeringen. From the eastern seat of war the news is less reassuring. The Russians seem, after all, to be advancing in East Prussia, in great force—

according to London reports, with twenty army corps.

One who left yesterday the investing army before Namur tells me that a special corps, formed of the siege artillery of all the other corps, is keeping up a violent bombardment of Namur and all its forts. There are also eight Austrian 30.5 howitzers. Up to yesterday three forts had fallen. As the German heavy artillery fires at very great distances, it has itself not been fired upon. But the infantry have sustained heavy losses, because they tried several times to storm positions which had not been demolished by the German artillery. Namur will very likely fall to-day, so violently is it attacked. The fall of the fortress was scheduled for not sooner than the end of the week. The well-known Prussian way of looking at the watch!

It was more important to me to learn that guerilla fighting has not yet ceased. The troops acted with terrible severity

whenever a shot was fired from a house. Recently they herded together two hundred male inhabitants of a village and shot them. It is a pity that many mistakes are made. For instance, our soldiers fire in one street, and German soldiers in another street assume that franc-tireurs are firing from the houses, and then they level everything to the ground.

I was much impressed by the information given by an authority, an officer, that the soldiers have taken to plundering and marauding. They invade homes and, while threatening the inhabitants with their bayonets, demand everything in the house—not only provisions, but money, valuables, and sometimes utterly useless objects. The cattle, too, are often driven away and permitted to perish. Automobiles, munition carts, and other vehicles are piled full of stolen goods. My informant says that he ordered his men yesterday to give back what they had stolen and to pay for all provisions.

He hopes the supreme command will soon take strong measures against the existing system of plunder.

In Liège, where the German soldiers are said to have greatly oppressed and plundered the civilian population, bloody battles broke out in the streets, in which we used machine guns and cannon. The soldiers have become brutalized; they have for weeks not seen any quarters, but have camped in open places in the fields, because during the night treacherous attacks on our soldiers in bed, or even in hospitals were to be feared. The fact is that by reason of their frequent firing on the civilian population and their destruction of many communities our soldiers have lost all conception of what is allowable in war and what is not.

August 25th.

As the Russians have advanced in great force the dams in the lowlands of the Elbing

have been cut, causing thirty or forty square kilometers of land to be inundated for the protection of the fortress of Danzig. This news makes a deep impression everywhere. Only recently the population had been reassured by the announcement that it was not intended to abandon Prussian territory to the enemy.

Only yesterday you could hear: "Ta! ta! ta! The Russians will never accomplish their mobilization; it will be a couple of months before they are able to advance. By that time we shall have beaten France. There is no need worrying about the Eastern theater of war. But should the Russians advance at all—which is not likely after their retreat from Poland—then we shall remain successfully on the defensive."

Now they think differently. As all our troops are concentrated in the West they dismiss optimism, and talk of the abandonment of East Prussia up to the Danzig-Thorn line, which, besides, had been an old

plan of battle. The main Austrian forces ought to be now on their way into Russia, but none of us laymen can tell to-day just where they are. Pessimistic utterances are heard to the effect that Austro-Hungarian preparation for war is even more tardy than Russian.

The retirement before the Russians within Prussian territory is said to have made a strong impression upon the Balkan states. It seems that Rumania, whose king has been sick for the last few days, is still far from any decision to make common cause with Bulgaria and Turkey—a decision much hoped for by our politicians, but which I considered out of the question. Far from this, we read that Rumania insists to Turkey and Bulgaria that she will remain neutral, and that she will reserve her own freedom of judgment and action in case either of these States takes sides. According to this, Rumania wants for the time being to prevent a spread of the European conflagra-

tion and to obstruct the ambitious plans of Turkey and Bulgaria.

The news from the Western Front continues favorable. The Wolff Agency reports to-day that Namur and five forts have been captured by the Germans and that the capture of the remaining four forts will very soon follow. A telephone message from headquarters, received by some acquaintances of mine, throws this Wolff report completely into the shade. It announced in advance of the telegram, that three enemy divisions had been annihilated. Although nobody knows any details, satisfaction is general. I believe that the destruction of three French army corps would not give the German public as much satisfaction as a thorough defeat of the three English divisions which have been disembarked.

Better kill an Englishman three times than half kill a Frenchman is to-day's slogan. This animosity is due not merely to

England's attitude toward Germany. There is rancor because the English have been up to now practically immune from attack and have been able to play the rôle of arbiter on the Continent and in the world without running any great risk or facing any serious sacrifice. They have therefore been able, without effort and merely as spectators, to extract profit from the quarrels of the Continental Europeans, which they have fomented in accordance with their own selfish policy. Germans say it is a delusion to regard England's Continental policy as pacific in any broad sense. It is charged that the maintenance of the European Balance of Power, which the English have professed to be working for, has made Continental dissension and disunity chronic and has offered them the opportunity of continual interference. Germans hold that England, which has forged a mighty ring about the world and which could and should be an invincible empire, overtopping all

other empires and also leading them in the arts of civilization, has always for centuries pursued the narrow policy of an island state, and, ignoring the European Continent, has devoted herself to her great tasks in the rest of the world. Everyone here thinks it would be a good thing if only a considerable body of English troops should appear on the Continent; that if their landing here could be facilitated, we could at last get at England and humble her pride. With us there is nowhere even the glimmer of a true conception of England's military power.

* * *

The Germans have faith in their numerical superiority and their better military equipment. They do not believe, in fact, that they will win through bravery, strength, skill, or any other special moral quality. They are satisfied as soon as they may hope to have superior numbers. They are confident that they can accomplish as much as other peoples, but not that they

can outdo others. It does not occur to them to be ashamed of their great superiority in numbers when they use it to crush a weak opponent like Belgium. They celebrate their achievements the more loudly and joyously, the greater their assurance is of overwhelming strength.

They are like barbarians, who become intoxicated with victory, even if it has been achieved at the expense of defenseless opponents. With wild hurrahs they are already distributing in their tents the treasures and the men taken as booty. But if a strong, courageous enemy, of whose approach in their hour of victory they had had no warning, should surprise them, they would again take hasty flight to their swamps and forests and would be as content with these as they were formerly eager to roam all over the earth, mere vagrants without any understanding of distances or world relationships.

* * *

If the Germans now gain the hegemony of Europe, a general exodus of Europeans will occur. The Germans will not get along among themselves and will break up into groups. Then the remotest corners of Europe will become the most desired places of refuge. A frightful dislocation of the present centers of intellectual life will follow. And if there is no longer a single spot in Europe which the Germans do not dominate, then there will be a true migration of peoples to lands across the sea, who knows where? Anywhere, where they can be safe from the Germans.

Europe will become a section of the earth which will hardly repay the inconveniences of a visit. But beyond the boundaries of the New Germany the Germans would not dare to show themselves. Either they would have to withdraw or the others would yield their places to them. With pride and horror everyone would insist that he be delivered from the sight of a German.

Only after the exodus had run its course (which one might hope for in view of the world's experiences in the time of the great Barbarian invasions) would European life possibly settle down again.

* * *

August 27th.

Under the direction of the Foreign Office Germany is now making the greatest and most unscrupulous efforts to win over to the German cause the Governments, the parliamentarians, the prominent men, the authors, the journalists, and all other possible groups in the countries which have remained neutral. I shall not speak here of the means employed, but shall only say that in my opinion the result must be a negative one. Since in this war the German cause is the bad cause, one can describe Germany's endeavors to win adherence only as an adventure in corruption. The elements which attach themselves to Ger-

many are necessarily the worst in Europe. At best one can regard them as deceived or as acting from motives of a base character.

Since nowadays in our domestic press many foreign expressions of opinion are published, which are favorable to Germany but which originate in most part in Germany itself or come from unimportant or anonymous persons, let me set down hurriedly what the real feeling in neutral countries is.

In Italy public opinion and the press are unanimous against Austria-Hungary; the Government favors a watchful neutrality. Attempts to debauch Italy into any other attitude are foolish and harmful. The promises which are being made to Italy must turn to a thorn in German flesh. The United States of North America do not sympathize with us. Americans living in Germany consider it prudent to sing the praises of the country whose bread they eat, but the press in general on the other side

of the Atlantic is hostile to Germany. The Government is very reserved and certainly has no idea of giving Germany any assistance.

I have recently spoken of Rumania. As regards Bulgaria and Turkey, there is in those countries no genuine feeling for us —only, at the most, a concern for their own selfish interests. As soon as these two nations begin to think that the chances of victory are on our side, they will make advances to us and unite with us for the sake of benefits which they covet and have in view. No trace of enthusiasm can idealize the attitude of these eventual allies.

No sympathy with Germany can be expected of states like Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. These states have just witnessed the fate meted out to Belgium. They maintain a strictly correct attitude in order not to offer any pretext for the violation of their neutrality. But if they could speak freely and without

fear, then we should find that Denmark is hostile to us, that Norway wishes no rapprochement, that Sweden mistrusts us, that Holland would prefer to lean on England, and that Switzerland feels that she had no vital association with us. In spite of its present embarrassing situation no one of these states would think of staking its salvation on us, because everyone of them would then become dependent and would pass within a sphere of influence very distasteful to it. The press of all these countries, as the special consideration it gives to news emanating from enemy countries clearly proves, is against the German cause and, at most, is unpartisan from reasons of prudence.

So let us leave the rest of the world in peace and neither woo it tenderly nor accept its attentions with gratitude.

* * *

Since the rumor of poisoned wells went the rounds in various countries, another

atrocity charge has turned up, no less nonsensical, but more persistent. The enemy fires dum-dum bullets. This rumor, too, is credulously accepted. After a few weeks the people may realize the improbability of an army's carrying dum-dum cartridges. In the meantime we have received "reassuring explanations" to the effect that the infection of wells with cholera bacilli, is not so easily accomplished, and, if achieved, can be easily neutralized.

* * *

The German authorities seem not to have yet enough of the popular medieval psychosis caused by the hunt for spies, gold-carrying automobiles, and similar things. Some military ignoramuses want to start again this dangerous performance of asking the population by proclamation to assist the police in detective work. Some High Command has information that the enemy keeps carrier pigeons in Germany,

which fly home with important disclosures about the national defense! The population should now get after pigeons and pigeon breeders!

* * *

Some newspapers think that Lord Haldane is a liar, as all other Englishmen are, because, unlike Morley and some other statesmen, he did not resign his office, in view of his repeatedly manifested friendliness to Germany and his many solemn declarations that war between England and Germany was impossible. Has it ever occurred, or would it ever occur, to any German Minister to resign because of sympathy he had formerly expressed with one of the countries on which Germany has declared war, or even because Germany committed the crime against Belgium? Besides, no one here knows why Morley resigned. The fact only is known; the reasons are not.

* * *

I record here that since yesterday the forts of Namur are in German possession, that the German Crown Prince has won another victory, that the Austrians, too, announce a victory over the Russians on the Galician frontier, and, finally, that the French have formed a new ministry to replace the coalition Cabinet organized at the outbreak of the war.

August 28th.

From a report of the Quartermaster-General it may be seen that the Germans have seven armies on the Western Front and are far advanced at all points. Near Maubeuge they have even begun enveloping the enemy. It is generally accepted that the fate of the enemy armies in the West has been practically decided and that a siege of Paris will soon be undertaken.

And now it is even reported that the English army has been completely beaten west of Maubeuge. Parts of our army have

advanced as far as St. Quentin. Defeat and retreat, wherever French armies are! The Government of France has advised the Belgian Government that it is unable to offer further assistance, because France herself has been thrown on the defensive everywhere.

Now I only wish that the French Government would be sensible enough to exhort the civil population not to participate in the war; for otherwise the fate of that poor country might be terrible. Only today we learned that the Belgian city of Louvain has been burned down. The population, it is alleged, attacked German troops at the time when the garrison of Antwerp made an unsuccessful sally. Nearly the whole population is said to have taken part in this uprising. What blindness on the part of the citizens and the City Administration not to recognize that fighting against regular troops is useless, and must be fatal to the populace and the country!

For the enemy, in such an event, indiscriminately kills and devastates.

One shot by a boy from an opening in a roof on a passing courrier costs the lives of the mayor and a number of citizens. An attack by a mob costs the lives and property of hundreds of civilians. But a real attack in the streets of a village or city entails the sacrifice of a vast number of men, women, and children and the destruction of their homes and property. Retaliation gathers force like an avalanche.

I fear for France. Since 1870 she has so often glorified the war made by francs-tireurs that I am inclined to think that the Government will no longer succeed in inculcating caution. I even fear that the French Government does not favor such caution, but prefers the destruction of the population, along with the army.

At least I cannot help entertaining this thought after a conversation with a native

of Southern France, who is ordinarily mild tempered. I pointed out to him that from my knowledge of the German character it would not occur to any German to lift even a finger against enemy troops, because he knows that such a misdeed would only endanger and penalize his fellow countrymen.

He replied: "This may be true; but we think otherwise. A war with Germany is no sport, no code duello. We shall admit ourselves beaten only after all our power is exhausted, and we care little about the destruction of life. The methodical and indiscriminate way in which the Germans wreak vengeance upon the innocent as well as upon the guilty who defend themselves against the invaders, only pours oil into the fire. France will fight again by francs-tireurs. And if all France is to be laid in ruin, I prefer her destruction to submission to the more terrible fate of falling under German domination."

August 29th.

Manonvillers, the strongest of the French detached forts, surrendered last night, and the road between Toul and Epinal has thereby been opened. If the war plans outlined in the *Tribuna* are correct, the main force of the French will take positions between Epinal and Verdun, with Toul as a center. But no one here believes that any fresh French armies are available.

It is my conviction that France must not perish. She will be saved. It is true she can expect no pity from Germany. Serious and influential men said to-day in my presence that the German Empire must annex the whole country, from Calais to Marseilles. The population which does not voluntarily emigrate or align itself with Germany will be deported.

Others think that France will turn away from England and, to save herself, make common cause with Germany against England, that ancient enemy of the Continent.

But these people are fools. France is no trader like Germany. Her convictions are not for sale.

* * *

Were the Germans, or, rather, the leading Prussians, something entirely different from what they are, one might, since war has come, not grudge them victory over Europe and the honor of regulating the international relations of the future. We all in Europe are awaiting the coming of the man who will finally compose our eternal quarrels and bring in peace and unity. As the savior did not come from above, the nations had begun to approach one another, in the hope that he would arise from their own midst.

But what qualities must such a victor and ruler have to be able to unite Europe! He must have absolute power to disrupt everything, to appropriate everything, to permit wrong to continue, to destroy right. At the

same time he must be of such a character as to want nothing for himself, to apportion everything according to the best judgment of his enlightened intellect, to create perfect justice through kindness, to diminish injustice by abolishing all privileges and class distinctions, in so far as our time is ripe for it.

If France were conquered by such a ruler she would be lifted up again through generous love, and would regain her independence and her lost brethren besides. She would retain all her greatness and spiritual importance; she would breathe freer and more proudly, depressed by no threat of danger, weighted down by no political mortgages.

It would be the same with the other countries. The tariff barriers would be removed and compulsory military service abolished, as well as everything else which separates and estranges peoples. The peoples of Europe would gladly place themselves under an autocrat who, with might,

goodness, and wisdom, denied himself in order to give justice to others. They would know that he would yield his prerogatives as soon as they became unessential and would not persist in fighting with his own limited strength for the salvation of the state, instead of accepting that salvation from the superior strength of the people.

Anyone who paints this Utopian picture for himself must shudder to think that Prussia will never bring this sort of peace to Europe. The Prussia of to-day can only sow a deeper hate among the European peoples and aggravate that hate into an obsession. She will steal everything—everything she can lay her hands on—and will hold fast to it. She will give away only what she attaches no importance to and will make such gifts only at the expense of others. She will never take her foot off the neck of the conquered. She will force every alien civilization to reverence her barbarity. She believes only in the strong fist at home

and abroad. She recognizes no power on earth but the power of compulsion.

* * *

Every Alsatian who fled to France on the outbreak of the war, as Abbé Wetterlé did, is publicly branded as a rascal. Yet it is pertinent to make this remark. If the Germans conquer a land, they expect the inhabitants to renounce their whole past and become pro-German. The only duty of the conquered population is to adjust itself to the political change, attach itself at once to the new Fatherland and to defend it with their lives and property against any one else, even against former friends. According to the German view there is no need to bother about the conquest of souls. The bare fact of the conquest of the soil is sufficient. It would not be allowable to regard the population as more than a co-proprietor of the land which it inhabits. Whoever doesn't like it can emigrate and whoever can't emigrate must be satisfied.

But if a German province were ever lost, it would doubtless be expected of the inhabitants of this transferred territory that they should resolve, after the peace, never to permit themselves to be robbed of their old home memories, of their language, of their schools or of their irreconcilable spirit.

Then he would be the rascal who adjusted himself to the changed relations which merged the old Fatherland with the new Fatherland; and it would go hard with all those who had preached submission to fate, if the German Empire by any chance should be able to guide the lost sheep home again.

In other words, so long as the acquisitive instincts of Governments and not the wishes of the population are the arbiters in such matters, there will be no logic or ethics in accordance with which the unfortunate inhabitants of annexed territory can live. They cannot make good with both sides.

They must ruin themselves with one or the other, or else become completely flabby and characterless, as those have done who in the course of centuries have had to change their colors half a dozen or even a dozen times.

With such people, who find themselves in a ceaseless cross-pull of obligations and influences, Governments ought to show sympathy, kindness, and patience, and not be brutal and intolerant. They are not rascals, whichever side they cleave to. They are martyrs of an immoral policy. The less craven they are, the worse is their lot.

More frightful than the lot of the Alsatians and Lorrainers (if such a thing were possible) is the lot of the Poles. The three robbers and dismemberers of Poland have fallen out. Russia claims the loyalty of her own Poles, but invites the German and Austrian Poles, in recognition of a sacred duty, to throw off the German and Austrian yokes and to make common cause with their

Russian Polish brethren—even with Russia herself. Russia promises them the realization of their dream (now also suddenly spoken of as "holy") of national rebirth and unity.

Of course, this will all be under Russian protection. Thus speaks Russia, which incited the dismemberment of Poland, has uninterruptedly approved it and has repressed every effort for the improvement of Poland's condition.

Prussia, which, to say the least, does not love her Poles, has passed laws expropriating their land holdings and will have no community with them, but would prefer to scatter, destroy, and virtually wipe them off the face of the earth, now summons them to the defense of the "Fatherland," its territory and its culture against Muscovite oppression and tyranny. She exudes fulsome flattery about the war enthusiasm of these poor oppressed people, as though her Poles were all volunteers and not conscripts,

whom, with their wives and children, she would shoot down at the first movement looking toward freedom.

Prussia makes a gesture toward Russian Poland and exclaims to her own Poles: "Join with us in freeing your suffering brethren; the dawn of a New Poland is at hand." But there is no talk of letting the Prussian Poles, as a reward, unite themselves to the future Polish state. In fact, whatever happens, no man can believe that Prussia will ever voluntarily part with her Polish territory. If she is the victor then she will take still other strips of Polish territory in order to round out her eastern boundary. The Poles themselves may emigrate. We shall gladly help them in every way to do so. But woe to them if they should make claims to Prussian soil! Why then do we excite their appetite for Russian territory?

One can see how hard it is for the Poles to do what is right. They cannot and may

not deal openly and honorably. They must tack and shift until they can side with the victor, and then they must again protect themselves against the victor. Meanwhile the violent struggles of the three belligerents will occur mostly in the Polish provinces. If, later, the liberation comes which the three belligerents now promise to Poland, the smile of triumph must follow the most frightful suffering.

To-day there are many indications that the Russian Poles wish to support Austria. In my opinion that would be the best attitude for them to take for the present. Austria has treated her Poles well in many respects. To Prussia or Russia the sprouting Polish hope cannot attach itself with either confidence or self-respect. Has Prussia for that reason thought it proper to speak through Austria with the coming Poles? Or, because Prussia has herself made no promises, would she like to be able in the end to repudiate all promises?

I know nothing about the negotiations. But Austria's position with regard to the Russian Poles also becomes difficult as soon as the discussion turns on the future of the Austrian Poles. Austria has always sought a more honorable and liberal solution of the Polish problem than the other two powers. It is my inmost hope that Austria will some day let Galician Poland go. She would be repaid a thousand times by the friendship of Poland. A better opportunity than the present one can hardly come.

I am too skeptical to have any expectations of such a thing, and I therefore suppose that, with the exception of the Prussian holdings (for they will not be given up) the Austrian Monarchy will try to annex the whole of Poland. If the Poles were sincerely satisfied with such a change of status, then this solution would be adequate. It would bring great advantages to the new Polish state—for instance, a secure and tranquil start toward greater development.

And Austria would also deserve Poland's gratitude.

But because no one to-day wants to be an immediate neighbor of Russia, it is also possible that Austria, like Prussia, will maintain her present boundaries and that the new buffer state of Poland will be carved out of the skin of the Russian bear—and carved out of it very generously. But in that case the liberated Poles will not cease to maintain intercourse across the frontier barriers with their unliberated brethren, and the situation will be more discomforting than ever. Indeed we might then discover the new Poland to be an ally of Russia.

For that reason I should wish that Austria this time at least so deals with the Poles as to deserve their love and gratitude; and also does more than mere self-interest in her battle with Russia requires. The Poles will notice the difference and will appreciate it; they have a fine feeling in such matters.

* * *

Things are getting worse with our German ladies! We still live in the first stages of exaltation over our victories; the last trains carrying our heroes are not yet across the border; masculine hate against the despised enemy still blazes in the most fantastic flames; but the joyful to-do of our women folk at the sight of real prisoners of war seems to dominate all other feelings. Military and civil authorities thunder daily in new tirades against the unworthy daughters of Eve, who, one must assume, form a protective wall between their own countrymen and the enemy's prisoners and wounded. It would pay someone some day to write a book about these remarkable developments.

It is forbidden to offer enemy soldiers kindly attentions and refreshments, and the railroad stations are closed to the frail sex during the passage of prisoners' trains. Visits by women to the hospitals and to prisoners' camps are forbidden; all sorts of punishments and public ostracism are

threatened. One hears continually that it was this way also in 1870. Is not many a lie unwillingly confessed through these repressive measures? The problem seems to me a deep one and worthy of psychological investigation. Let us keep before our eyes the fact that the female population in the enemy countries have taken no such friendly attitude toward our captured German heroes. Let us remember also what great preference German young women used to show in peace times for anything exotic appearing amongst them and let us draw our own conclusions therefrom.

August 30th.

Yesterday we received news that five Russian army corps were defeated in the southern part of the province of East Prussia and were driven back across the border. At the same time a manifesto of the new French Government is published which speaks of the continued advance of

the Russians towards Berlin. As water in the wine with which Germany is at present intoxicating herself comes the news of a less successful battle in the North Sea near Heligoland. The English have lost but one ship, while the Germans have had three small cruisers and one torpedo boat sent to the bottom.

* * *

It is claimed that we are a civilized people through and through. We continually repeat this to ourselves and to others. And the reply we get is: "You are Huns and barbarians." The chief of the Great General Staff, von Moltke, yesterday told the world that the German soldier is no murderer and incendiary, that he unwillingly takes action against enemy civilians participating in hostilities. But I heard the complaint made afresh by our own officers that the soldiers are no longer to be held back and that they plunder and burn without any excuse for doing so.

Generally speaking, one may say of the German soldier that he is normally good-natured and is not disposed to do injury to harmless people, so long as he finds no obstacles put in his prescribed way. But once disturbed, he becomes frightful, because he lacks any higher capacity of discrimination; because he merely does his duty and recognizes no such thing as individual conscience and, besides, when he is excited becomes at once blind and super-nervous.

This same phenomenon was observable in our police in peace times. They are also good-natured, even if harsh, technical, and very arbitrary when they give commands, instead of being helpful. What has made them so immeasurably hated with us is their attitude toward street assemblages, strikes, and other disturbances of the peace.

As soon, for example, as they are called upon to clear a street they lose all sense of tactfulness, all comprehension of the value of conciliatory methods. They never think

of employing a quieting gesture or a soothing word. They become themselves so excited and so raging that they are only machines driven by a word of command. With drawn swords or revolver shots they dash ahead, trampling down everything without really knowing what they are doing.

One might say that it is a curious mixture of fear and duty which sets this powerful but unintelligent machine to work. Mostly the weak, the helpless, and the innocent are left lying as victims; the old offenders and the cunning keep out of the way of the ponderous automaton. Anyone who has ever witnessed such a scene, or has been caught or nearly caught in it, is filled with shame and disgust. Those who have only heard of such things think, of course, that they are all right.

When a few years ago in Berlin on the occasion of a disturbance of this sort some foreign journalists, who were in an automobile, were wounded, together with their

chauffeur, by on-rushing policemen—and this in spite of their presentation of identification papers—many apologies were made. But the general opinion was that these journalists had no business to be there. As if in case of bloody clashes between the police and the populace, the press should not inform itself as to what is going on!

So I can well imagine the German soldier in Belgium as good-hearted as a child (as our officers love to depict him), ready to help the inhabitants, to share his bread with them, and to become their friend; shrinking at first inwardly from the horrors of war, but obeying unconditionally the command which drives him forward—I might say helpless without that command, which is his own safety and his whole justification; but quickly hardened to outrages and inspired by a frightful earnestness, as soon as he is bidden to do something frightful.

Now he hears rumors that the inhabitants treacherously shoot out of the houses. He

is filled with uncomfortable feelings and a very critical mistrust. He is told that indiscriminate action must be taken against the inhabitants and against the towns and villages they live in if there is a well grounded suspicion that these inhabitants have taken part in the fighting.

He no longer makes distinctions. Every unexplainable shot in a locality is the signal for ruthless murder. With a berserker rage he storms into the houses and sets them on fire. Since his comrades shoot and murder, he does the same. It is hard to get him to stop. No one orders him to stop; they all know, and wish only to know, that a shot out of a house gives them the right and imposes on them the duty to ravage until no living thing any longer stirs.

I have been frequently informed that soldiers began to shoot into houses because their comrades in another street were shooting into them. Ah, if there were only lacking that terrible haste with which the

German soldier does his duty, even against the innocent! Many an explanation could be given; many a distinction could be made. If the commanders understood how to talk in the right way to the populace, how to quiet it, how to mingle moderation with severity, the soldier would learn from such example and would have a far greater sense of superiority and security—beneficial both to him and to the enemy—than he now has.

As he is now trained and acts, he has no more capacity to discriminate than the Russian soldier has. No circumstances can justify the willful destruction of the city of Louvain by fire. They might, after mastering the revolt, have meted out punishment with a certain amount of self-control. They ought not to have set fire to the city, even if they had given the population time to leave it.

It is said that also in Namur incredible outrages occurred. A newspaper correspond-

ent describes how the market place and other sections were set on fire because shots had been fired at the soldiers; how the vice-governor vainly looked for a responsible officer to talk to about measures for sparing the city and obtaining food; how thousands of weeping women and children fled into the fields without knowing where to find shelter; how hundreds of terrified people were shouting from their houses to learn what they must do in order that the firing might cease —whether they should stay in the cellars, whether they should open the doors and windows of the houses, etc.

But anyone may read for himself what our own correspondents have reported during the last few days. Most grotesque is the story of a correspondent to the effect that the population of Namur had no patriotism whatever and despicably struck up a friendship with the German soldiers.

It is terrible, confused, senseless. We have conquered Namur. But we are not

masters of the situation. We are neither mentally nor morally qualified for that mastery. We cannot distinguish between a militiaman and a franc-tireur, between a farmyard and a town, between guilt and innocence. We want to be victorious, regardless of the means employed. We want to have peace again as soon as possible. To attain this end we march over dead bodies. "Military necessity" is the name of the principle of justice which covers all outrages.

* * *

Yesterday we discussed again, in a circle of very prominent men, all these horrible acts. There was no one, save myself, who did not approve of them. No one thinks of leniency—least of all to Belgium. The Belgians are nothing but enemies, and the circumstances of the beginning of hostilities have been forgotten by the Germans. They (the Germans) greet with joy the order

issued by the new governor which forces all the newspapers in Belgium to be printed in German. Whether the people understand German does not matter. Let them learn it. That a Zeppelin drops bombs on the public buildings of Antwerp fills all with satisfaction. Antwerp is a fortress; therefore it is right to do so. Moreover, it is of advantage to spread terror wherever possible. A general writes in the "Tag" (a section of the Berlin *Lokal Anzeiger*):

"Belgium is and will henceforth remain German. Not because we want the few millions of rabble living there. No, they may emigrate. But because we need their land, their mineral deposits, and especially their coast and their ports, in order to get at the English."

When I disapproved of this language the others shouted in unison:

"What he said is all right."

No doubt they want to sow hatred and violence, and they will reap the whirlwind.

In the meantime to the poor Belgians getting Germanized and being stripped of all rights mean one and the same thing.

* * *

He who informs the world, as we did through our Imperial Chancellor, that necessity knows no law, has forfeited the right to be morally indignant at the perfidiousness of the francs-tireurs. For they, too, are under the stress of necessity. We did not respect treaties. We cannot expect from other peoples a fidelity to them any different from our own.

But our viewpoint will not prevail. There is a moral element in human development which will overcome us the more we challenge it.

Now only am I beginning to know my countrymen I now fully understand the sarcasm of one of our diplomats who, in characterizing a certain Dutch Minister, said to me recently: "You know, he is a

man who believes in the sanctity of treaties —as though they spoke the final word."

* * *

Whatever one may say, a war like that just begun cannot be carried on long. Those who took the field did not know what they were doing. There had been too long a peace. He who has gone through a few battles will tire of the crime of war, will find the game not worth the candle. Those who have remained at home and been witnesses of the falsity and misery of it all will call a halt. The voices of command will die away. It will be difficult to escape disillusionment. Just see how quickly the enthusiasts got depressed when for a few days no victory was recorded, when some ships were lost, when the Russians advanced across the frontier.

Immediately enjoyment of the suffering of the enemy sticks in the throat. Immediately exaltation yields to sober reflection.

But it would be a shame if only distress and failure were to crush out the war spirit. That ought to be achieved by clearer insight. Will it do it? When will it do it? I don't know. I no longer understand men, and I begin to believe that I have never understood them.

August 31st.

As long as the aims and ends of politics are not at one with the plain fundamentals of general human morals, so long will statesmanship remain a criminal trade. To-day the dogma obtains with all the servants of the state that their highest duty is to be useful to the state. This obligation sanctifies all means. Perfidy, lying, forgery, deception, treachery, corruption, and murder are no longer loathed where the state is concerned. But whence do we derive the right to set the state to which we belong above other states and peoples and to consider its interests superior to the clearest

moral commands? Are we not first of all human beings? Have we not the same duty to perform to all men?

The state idea in its present-day form separates men artificially from one another and creates all sorts of hateful distinctions between them. The modern state wishes its subjects to be, in relation to other men, brutal, covetous, envious, obtuse, and bigoted.

Moreover, the morals of the state naturally color the morals of all those who count themselves among its supporters. Thus all industrial magnates believe that in the interest of the work which they are carrying on, they may employ any means to reap the fullest fruits of their labors. They say, even as the state does, that they do not act thus out of selfishness, but from a sense of responsibility for their great enterprises, from solicitude for the welfare of the part of humanity for which they are trustees. Their dependents must have a good and

pious conception of life. They must be soft as wax as servants, hard as iron as workers, even as the state wants its subjects to be. But since every servant is also a master, and it is not possible to keep the coin of the one system of morals unmixed with the coin of the other system, the general corruption and confusion of public and private opinion are explained. So are our acts and ambitions. And all these together explain the war.

If we want to restore to mankind its most essential basis—which is mutual confidence—we must, above all things, combat the idea that there may be a different morality for different individuals or for different human institutions. Equality in this respect must be the rule. If states lose thereby in sharpness and individuality of outline, it will be all the better for the world.

A state's form of government is of little consequence. The main thing is the point of view of those who are at the head of it.

If a monarch is humane and high-minded, he can, owing to his great power, often do more for the liberation of mankind than the noblest leader of a republic. Like a bad example, a good example set in high places is immediately heeded and emulated below. In our times, however, those in authority frequently abuse the populace for following their example and drawing from it deductions injurious to them. You cannot appeal to the sense of justice of the people when you ask it to defend the unrighteous conduct of the state.

* * *

Many of our officers speak affectingly of "our brave fellows," who even during the war submit to the same discipline as on the drill ground, and, for instance, get up quickly from the ground and stand at attention whenever an officer passes by, no matter how tired they are. But is not this emotion on the part of the officers also affecting?

They have in times of peace constantly drilled these "brave fellows," imparted to them an artificial carriage, a forced gait, a mechanical salute; and now they are touched that the effects of this training persist even in war, where sometimes one human life is worth as much as another. But do you not know, my countrymen, that the German enjoys this compulsion, this automatic regulation of all his physical and mental activities? After the first discomforts of this discipline vanish, he acquires a feeling of security, of ease and cheerfulness, which he loses again as soon as he is not enabled to act according to command. No, let him stick to his fetters and his pulleys; he kisses them; they make his existence simple and good. Without wires to set him in motion he would be helpless in the face of his own complicated, clumsy mechanism. He would be mortified and would hide his head with shame.

* * *

The story about the dum-dum bullets, which I recently dismissed as incredible, is getting worse and worse! The French and English use them! Thousands of them have been found in cartridge boxes; the Kaiser has examined specimens at headquarters; the Crown Prince mails postal card pictures of them to friends in the interior; they have even discovered in Nancy a machine for the manufacture of those flattened projectiles, which are forbidden by international agreement. Energetic counter measures are officially announced. I don't believe a word of all this. An explanation will be sure to come. Then our adversaries will retort with a similar accusation, because that is the way of war.

* * *

Of the accusations now made by our press against France, the following deserves notice. An Alsatian, who until recently furnished guncotton to the French Ministry

of War, deems it proper to inform the German public that he sold to France nothing but slop-made goods, which never would have been accepted by the German authorities. He received fine prices for his trash, for he had to bribe the French purchasers. All Frenchmen who buy for the French army and navy are not only willing to be corrupted, but they must actually be corrupted, otherwise one cannot do any business with them. Since, however, he personally prefers to do business honorably, he always gladly worked for the German authorities at lower rates. When we now read that the French munitions are defective, we need not, in view of these revelations, be greatly surprised.

This self-accusation on the part of the honest Alsatian certainly is more precious than his defamation of the French. German self-respect must have increased extraordinarily, to permit the publication of this foolish effusion. We ought first to examine

the glass house in which our German men of honor sit, before we amuse ourselves throwing stones.

* * *

Up to now I had been firmly convinced that there existed certain rudiments of international military law which would be strictly observed under all circumstances, if for no other reason than from fear of a relapse into absolute barbarism. It seems I was deceived. The newspapers publish every day news of flagrant violations of international usages and treaties. I have less in mind at this moment charges involving a brutal conduct of the war, refusal to give quarter, mutilation of the wounded and even of dead bodies, disregard of the Red Cross, the bombardment of open cities, and similar outrages, such as the Balkan States have recently been indignantly reproached for. I should have thought that the civilized Great Powers, at least, would keep a cleaner record in this respect.

Yet I am less surprised at crimes like these, which may be due to misunderstandings, over-zeal, or the arbitrary action of individuals, than I am at the mutual accusations launched of mine-laying in the open sea, of oppressive treatment of neutral shipping, of the capture of enemy vessels in the waters of neutral states—especially of contraventions of law which are undoubtedly traceable to instructions from the highest governmental authorities. Of a similar nature are the announcements of the invalidating of patents held by enemy subjects, as well as of commercial transactions already entered into; of the annulment of insurance policy rights, of the confiscation of foreign deposits in the banks, and of a thousand similar proceedings, which make it appear as though both international law and private rights were suspended and every individual belonging to an enemy nation was regarded as beyond the pale of legal protection. Some of these reports

may be exaggerated, or even malicious inventions. But they leave a very unfavorable impression. Private morality is as much imperiled as public morality.

* * *

September 1st.

The German victory in the East seems very important.

Seventy thousand prisoners taken, among them two commanding generals; several army corps completely destroyed. On the other hand, the Austrians seem to have fared badly in a big battle near Lemberg. The battle has continued for six days on a front of four hundred kilometers.

Dutch newspapers report that the destruction of the city of Louvain is attributable to a terrible misunderstanding. Believing that they had been attacked by Belgian civilians in Louvain, the German troops are said to have fired at one another. A rumor which seems to me the more

horrible, since I know for certain that similar mistakes were made in other Belgian towns. I even fear that it was not much different at Namur.

I have already said what I think about the state of mind of the German soldier, the minute he hears the crackling of musketry. The Dutch newspapers voice my sentiments by asking: Even if we assume that the German version of the conduct of Louvain's civil population was true, was there not a middle road between severe war measures, on one side, and regard for humanity and Western European civilization, on the other? A glory of centuries was demolished at a single blow.

* * *

According to German representations England has begun hostilities against all the German colonies. I never should have thought cheap successes across the sea would matter to England. Combats

between small white detachments in Africa and elsewhere cannot affect the issue of the European war. But the loss of prestige by the whites with the natives is enormous and must produce bitter consequences in the future. Besides, in this instance also an international treaty is said to have been disregarded, since according to the Congo agreements certain African colonies were not to be affected by a war between mother countries. I do not know, of course, whether it be true that the English started the colonial war. If I had confidence in the German sources of news, I could not well doubt it.

* * *

The Germans are delighted with the "truly statesmanlike speech" recently made in London by the former English Minister, John Burns, who resigned because of the declaration of war. The speech explains at length why Burns deems it a folly on the

part of the present cabinet to give up English neutrality.

I leave out of the question whether Burns is right or wrong, when I ask: "Would a similar criticism of decisions reached by our Government be permitted in Germany, either at a great public gathering or in the newspapers?" It certainly would not. But not one of Mr. Burns's German admirers seems to think of that.

"Really splendid; he hits the nail on the head," they say. But that is all. It is a real misfortune for me to differ so from my countrymen in my views on matters the most important and the most trifling. I am a stranger at home as well as beyond the borders of my country.

* * *

We read that the French Mediterranean fleet honored the small Austrian vessel *Zenta* with a roll of drums and flags at half-staff, when the latter sank, after a brave

combat against odds. "Theatrical," some one said to me contemptuously. I see in this chivalrous thought, which interposes between us and complete savagery, an admirable capacity to rise above hostile partisanship, an effort toward reconciliation with a fallen enemy, an attempted exhibition of freedom from hatred and malice. Such gestures on the part of our adversaries are not rightly judged by calling them "unnecessary and useless." Sometime they may come as a great blessing and we may be thankful to the bottom of our hearts for such a piece of "theatricality."

* * *

Appeals to God and praise of Him never cease. There is no telegram in which the Kaiser does not say:

"God has helped us. May He help us further. He will help us further, the Christian God, the German God, the God of Battles who never deserts the righteous cause."

What will the Kaiser say if we lose the war? Will he manufacture other phrases or will he talk of the superior force of the enemy, of the treason of friends, of mistakes of policy or by his generals, of the gathering of new forces, of early revenge, or of wise submission to the compulsion of circumstances? Will he and his satellites admit that they were mistaken in God and that they praised Him too soon? Will they admit the injustice of our cause if God's judgment goes against us? Will they recognize then that there is no partisan God? Is this continual reference to God due in part to a narrow conception of life or is it only a governmental expedient? Does it appear to the genuine believer as blasphemy or as inspiration? And what, moreover, are the feelings of the skeptics, of the unbelievers?

The Protestant ministers take up the Christian war cry of the Supreme War Lord with ecstatic cries of rage and talk as if God wanted to reform His world after the true

Protestant-Prussian model. The Catholic priests are more moderate and humane. They seem not to have attained to the higher stages of Prussian Kultur. But no matter what the creed of the modern confessors of Christ, who of them would dare to lift his eyes and call himself His disciple, if He should appear among us and wander through our armies, our battlefields, our headquarters and capitals!

* * *

As soon as the war comes to an end, it is to be hoped that public opinion or governmental policy will turn against the private munitions manufacturers. State arsenals for the manufacture of war materials are not the worst feature of this evil; they are confined to one's own country. But the contractors who stop at no means to entice foreign countries into purchasing arms are in a great measure responsible for the fact that the whole world bristles with

weapons and every country thinks that only by the weight of arms can it maintain its prestige. What a great step forward it would be if the victor could suspend the munition industry in every country and could confine the preparation of war material, arms, munitions, explosives, etc., to government plants! If the trade of private factories were stopped; if at least direct or indirect sale to foreign customers were interdicted, so as to do away with the present disgraceful and unscrupulous competition, there might not be at once an end of competitive armament, but a disarmament agreement among the states would be materially facilitated.

* * *

September 2nd.

I have just read the English *Blue Book*, covering the events leading up to the European war. It is hardly possible to arrive at a complete judgment so long as one cannot

compare all the different diplomatic publications. I wish, therefore, only to write down a few impressions which my reading has left me. Austria's aversion to negotiate either with London or St. Petersburg in regard to her procedure against Serbia is an outstanding feature. Her ultimatum to Serbia again impresses me as the fist blow of a state which feels that it can only get the worst of it in an argumentative encounter.

Serbia's answer strikes me as even more conciliatory than I remembered it. She agrees to meet all the demands of Austria-Hungary. She does not fear to lose anything in the eyes of the world by trying, in a respectful and courteous way, to appease a raving maniac. My impression that the Serbian Government seriously strove to avoid war has been strengthened. The conference and mediation proposals of Sir Edward Grey show good-will, great prudence, and caution.

The German point of view that no one

ought to interfere in the argument between Vienna and Belgrade appears to me more manifestly wicked and tricky than ever. Russia's standpoint becomes more justified when compared with that of Germany or Austria-Hungary. Germany's attempts to reach a general understanding with England in regard to the latter's neutrality have aroused my particular interest, and England's reply seems to me just. But I have still the feeling that it would have been better if Germany had counted definitely on England siding with France. Of course, Sir Edward Grey could not state his position more definitely in advance. Had he, however, been able to do this, I believe that Germany and Austria-Hungary would have abandoned their warlike attitude.

Some of our diplomats are placed in a rather peculiar light by the *Blue Book*. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at Berlin assured the English Ambassador that the Serbian Government had been unable to

accept some of the Austrian demands. He himself had not read the Austrian note, which left much to be desired. But the German Ambassador to Vienna told his English colleague that he subscribed to every word of the note. It is also maintained that the German Ambassador knew the text of the note before it was sent and had wired it to the Kaiser. The German Ambassador to St. Petersburg, it is said, always reported to his Government to the effect that Russia would do everything in her power to prevent war.

Many passages in the *Blue Book* show the honest wish of Belgium to maintain her neutrality and to defend it against everybody. Furthermore, they show that both France and England, on their side, were far from intending to violate Belgium's neutrality. England demanded from Belgium not only resistance to all attempts to violate neutrality, but also promised Belgium her full support.

Whoever had not known it before can see from the *Blue Book* that Germany started the war, because she not only answered the mobilization of Russia with her own mobilization, but also sent a short-term ultimatum demanding Russian demobilization and declared war without delay. Had Germany's mobilization not meant immediate war; had Germany allowed the world a little more time for consideration, it would have been possible, with a little spark of good will, to arrange everything. It is seen from the *Blue Book* that at the moment when Germany sprang at the throat of her neighbor with a declaration of war, Vienna and St. Petersburg had actually reached an understanding. Thanks to the mediation of Sir Edward Grey, St. Petersburg had finally agreed that Austria-Hungary should obtain satisfaction from Serbia, provided that the integrity and sovereignty of Serbia should be preserved. One needs only to read the declaration of the Russian Ambassador to

Vienna, dated August 1st. The rift between Russia and Austria was not unbridgeable; but that between Germany and Russia, which was entirely independent of Austrian-Hungarian interests, did all the mischief.

It is also interesting to learn from the *Blue Book*, that England raised no objections against the violation of the neutrality of Luxemburg, but apparently possesses a doctrine of non-interference in Luxemburg, originating in the year 1867.

Finally I note that the Italian Government advised the French Government on August 1st that Germany had informed Italy of her ultimatum to Russia and France, and inquired about Italy's intentions. The Italian Government answered that the war undertaken by Austria was an aggressive one, according to the German Ambassador's own words, and therefore was contrary to the purely defensive character of the Triple Alliance. Such being the case, Italy would remain neutral.

September 3d.

It is reported that the army of the Crown Prince of Prussia, after successful battles, is now between Verdun and Rheims. The battle of Lemberg which has been raging for the last eight days, seems to have ended unfavorably for the Austrian troops. In the last few days Prussian troops have been sent to the East; all ordinary railroad traffic was again suspended. Were they sent to aid the Austrians?

September 4th.

The French northern fortresses are in the hands of the Germans; Maubeuge alone is still besieged. German cavalry has advanced as far as Paris. The victory of General von Hindenburg in East Prussia proves ever more stupendous. Austria-Hungary reports successes at Lublin, but at the same time also retreats with great losses at Lemberg. We are surprised in Germany that the Russians were able to dash into

Eastern Galicia with such an overwhelming force. Russian mobilization proceeded, after all, more rapidly than any one had thought possible.

* * *

The German press may learn much from the respectful and decent manner in which the official war correspondents of the Dual Monarchy speak of the Russian soldiers and their conduct. One immediately feels more sympathy for a cause, if its spokesmen do not make as full a mouth of it as the Prussians do, who find everything wrong with their adversaries, individuals or nations, and overwhelm them with scorn, insults, and threats. Even the official military reports lack their habitual lapidary style whenever accusations against the enemy are made. I am particularly suspicious of the ever more and more wordy assertions that the English use bullets interdicted by international law, although great masses of such

munitions are said to have been captured. Physicians have told me that even bullets whose use is permissible may produce very complicated wounds, as the lead very frequently protrudes from the thin copper or nickel casing. The condition of the wound, therefore, does not prove with certainty the employment of dum-dum bullets. We have, of course, been familiar with the ammunition used by the enemy before the war. Deviations from the peace model can therefore be easily established.

* * *

We are beginning to be impressed by the war record of the nobility—even people among us who do not recognize that its warlike deeds are a sufficient justification for its existence, because with us every one has to give similar service. Princes fight and fall. Consequently many people entertain a new respect for them—even a sort of astonished admiration—as though they

had never thought or expected that so much courage and such a keenness to prove their quality were left in the nobility, and that the nobility, even like other men, would carry their skins to market. So modest is the German commonalty in the presence of its aristocratic leaders, who, after all, are but fighting for their dearest traditions and for their political existence.

* * *

To render obedience to nobody but oneself is a doctrine on which one might be tempted to base the morality of the future. The consequences could hardly be worse than those of the present system of dependency, multiplied a thousandfold, which now falsifies and inextricably entangles our lives.

This principle would undoubtedly prove rich in blessings if it were combined with another principle—to wit, that we should show consideration to all men and do injury to none, admitting an exception to the rule

to a certain extent in the case of those who have sinned too much against the commandment of brotherly love.

Beyond this no compulsion—only the persuasion of willing listeners and an exercise of command only so long as obedience is gladly yielded. No coöperation which is not voluntary; agreements to be valid only so long as they rest on free will. An immense revolution would result from the unhindered development of these two ideas. Therefore we should have to prepare for a long transition period, until these principles had sunk deep into popular consciousness and were respected to about the same extent as our laws now are.

The ultimate aim would have to be kept in view and a course constantly steered toward it. But in the interval many exceptions would have to be made, never forgetting that they are exceptions, to be discarded as soon as they become superfluous.

Would not such reflections occur to any thinking man, who feels as I do? But we ought not to be timid, facing so great and high a goal. Let us begin with short steps, and the total accomplishment will become easy.

* * *

I was just thinking that a couple of hundred years ago the persons who performed military service for a big state or a small state, or for some potentate, were a motley lot, so far as nationality is concerned. In this respect the nobility was especially internationalized. Peoples and countries were cut up, distributed, joined together, transformed by colonization and remodeled according to the whims, necessities, or bargaining habits of princes. How could the burdensome system of universal military service ever have sprung from this old free-lance arrangement, and this blundering work of state building be considered sacrosanct

and left unmolested in the form to which it had hardened down!

* * *

We are surprised at the official report that the French have abandoned Rheims without offering resistance and are everywhere retreating before the German advance from the North. Enormous booty —too great to be counted. I presume that France wants to spare her fortified towns useless suffering, and therefore surrenders them. But I should think that the French are playing too much into the hands of the Germans, the pace of whose advance, rapid enough without that, they are plainly accelerating. Everybody had believed that the French would stubbornly defend their so-called second line of fortresses: Rheims—Laon—La Fère. Now the way to Paris lies open.

Endeavoring to find a suitable explanation for this, I recall having read that some

of the French commanders wanted to have the Germans occupy Belgium and a large part of France before a decisive battle should be fought. The German forces would be dispersed through so extensive an occupation and would succumb to a French counter-offensive more easily than if they were able to fall at once, with their vastly superior strength, on the French army.

This may be reasonable. But a German occupation will be very oppressive to France and still greater misery will be caused by attempts to expel the Germans.

September 5th.

Two Turkish officers came to see me today. They were very well satisfied to have a world-war, because it would bring back to Turkey her former domination over Islam. According to their views everything is going most favorably. The Porte is at one with Germany and merely awaits the

signal to strike. The Turkish fleet, under German leadership, will presently begin operations in the Black Sea. Big Turkish transports have been going for some time to Trebizond, without any hindrance. Very soon Russian Armenia and all the territories up to and across the Caucausus will be freed from Russian rule. Negotiations have been begun with Persia, Afghanistan, and the Mohammedan population in India.

An agreement has been consummated with the Arabian Sheiks, who, at a nod from the Caliph, will invade the English dependencies. In Damascus an army is being organized which is to march into Egypt. A general uprising in all countries which have a religious connection with Turkey will overthrow the power of the Russians and of the English. Turkey does not intend to take the initiative against Greece. But an army under Liman Pasha is to remain in Europe. Even if it does not come to the point of a conflict with Greece, Germany will

see to it that Greece restores the Islands of the Ægean.

It all comes back to Germany! She is to show herself the true friend, the savior of Turkey, the deliverer of the Mohammedan world!

I was in Constantinople twice last spring and I scarcely trusted my ears, suddenly to encounter such charming amiability. Germany deprives herself of costly war material and sends it in enormous railroad trains—via Rumania and Bulgaria—to Constantinople. That creates friendship.

The negotiations between Turkey, Bulgaria, and Rumania, my Turkish guests continued, have produced valuable results. There is a common understanding, first of all, to remain neutral. But if the interests of any one of these three states induce it to enter the war, the two others will maintain neutrality toward this neighbor belligerent. Consequently noone of them need fear that one of the others will attack it from

the rear. Relations between Turkey and Bulgaria are already so cordial that one may confidently expect that these two countries will be drawn into the war on the same side and at the same time.

I seriously question the attitude imputed to Rumania, the proud guarantor of the Treaty of Bucharert, toward Bulgaria. But otherwise the picture drawn by these two highly pleased Turks may be accepted as correct. In passing it should be said that they themselves are here in Germany awaiting an extension of the world war. They are on a mission to the German Government.

* * *

Once more a conversation over the distribution of the booty after the war. It occurred in a most intimate circle of the most distinguished Iron and Steel "Robber Barons." I still quiver with shame. These modern German industrials are nauseating.

If the English have pursued the politics of a nation of traders, then the Germans, according to the view of the masters of the iron and steel industry, must outdo them in unblushing spoliation. Even foreign private property must not be spared, in so far as coal and iron deposits and great factories and enterprises are concerned.

One gentleman argued very earnestly that Germany should immediately annex Belgium, as Italy recently annexed Tripoli, in order that the Belgian problem should be excluded entirely from future peace negotiations. At the same time he favored an unqualified and very extensive appropriation of all big industrial and other private establishments. In the terms of peace France should be obliged to assume the obligation of indemnifying those who had been despoiled.

Moreover, we should not repeat the blunder of 1870 in Alsace-Lorraine, where we allowed the prominent personages who

are now chiefly pro-French to remain in the conquered country. This time all the most influential elements in the annexed territory should be obliged to emigrate immediately, if they did not adjust themselves unconditionally to the new order of things.

This speaker strongly emphasized the fact that his industrial colleagues, like Thyssen, Stinnes, and Kirdorf, were using all their influence to put through the drastic policy outlined by him. These gentlemen had already taken steps with the Imperial Chancellor to have an industrial expert attached to the German Government in Belgium, who should inspect all industrial establishments and inquire into all industrial values in Belgium and note what Germany could use for herself.

The enthusiasm shown by his friends and colleagues induced the shark whose remarks I have been reporting to present the following proposal: namely, to make a hurried effort with the Imperial Chancellery to

procure the appointment as industrial expert in Belgium of a gentleman belonging to this shark's own concern, and thereby secure a special interest in the firm of Cockerill, in Seraing. In order to prevent the possibility of any further competition from Cockerill it should be agreed secretly to acquire control of a majority of the stock of that concern. To cover over this interest, which was concerned chiefly with Cockerill's munition works, a gentleman having no connection with the manufacture of war material should be selected to explore the terrain.

Of course they serve this dish of genuine patriotism with trimmings of various sorts. It was said, for instance, that in order that the great sacrifices of our people shall not go for nothing, we must seize as much territory and as much private property as we can hope to be able to digest. It is also highly necessary to occupy the imagination of our people after the war with the evi-

dences of our enormous territorial expansion and of our enrichment in other ways, as well as with the opportunities arising through these spoliations. Only thus can the people be diverted from their desire for so-called "internal reforms." If this doesn't happen, then conditions with us will be worse after the war than they were before.

There were some contrary opinions, however. Our experience, one doubter said, has taught us that we are not in a position to assimilate alien peoples. We should content ourselves both in the East and in the West with that increase in territory which our strategic and economic interests seem to require. As an offset, we should by economic penetration make France, Belgium, and Holland dependent on us, should assure ourselves of one-sided advantages through customs treaties, should demand the French iron deposits which lie along the border as a part of our war indemnity, and should, of course, proceed vigorously with expropria-

tions and expulsions in all the annexed territory. The war indemnity must go as high as 50,000,000,000 marks and must this time not be paid (as was the case in 1870) in drafts, but in merchandise, real estate, and mineral deposits, which are worth much more to us. In this way the really important result would be obtained that, just as in Belgium, no powerful iron industry should ever be able to develop again in France.

Another cautiously questioned whether the state could set such an example of robbery, without injuring the morals of the people. He therefore recommended a solution which would leave private property untouched in the hands of the conquered, but would incorporate the territory in which it exists into the Prussian state, but not into the German Empire, so that we should never again have to face conditions such as exist in the Alsace-Lorraine *Reichsland*. The population of annexed areas would, indeed,

be a hard nut to crack, for it would be intractable and not accustomed to a strong government. Tractability and obedience would have to be instilled into it.

All agreed with him in this and also in his suggestion that after the war the German people should be encouraged as a holy duty to bring as many children into the world as possible, to whom would fall the heritage of these inferior, subject peoples.

There was nothing in their conversation or in their thoughts but force, material wealth, new territory to develop, discipline and methods of exploitation. No idea which would justify an extension of German rule, no benefits and no consideration to be bestowed on the conquered. In short, no magnanimity. They want to lie in the beds of other people and don't mind being called barbarians for wanting to do so. They haven't the least ambition to win over other peoples by moral suasion.

* * *

Maeterlinck, Wells, Shaw, J. K. Jerome, and other authors have felt themselves impelled since the beginning of the war to come out openly against Germany just as many of our literary lights, for example, Gerhart Hauptmann, have publicly defended the justice of Germany's cause. The manner in which the German press reacts to this foreign criticism is a horrid example of the German mode of thought. The press calls these foreigners ingrates and traitors, because they are alleged to have become rich and famous through the early favor of German readers. As if that bound them to conform their thought to present tendencies in Germany! Whose bread I eat, his praise I sing! It is shameful to demand such a surrender from intellectual leaders, since their value and their ability to benefit others flow from their intellectual independence.

Now we read that a league has been formed of German critics who obligate

themselves in the future not to criticize or to mention in any way French, English, or Russian authors. These are to remain unknown to German readers.

The narrowness and harmfulness of this resolution are bad enough. But it is worse to realize that Germans of this kind enjoy no real respect in the world of intellect. For them it is simply a question of political expediency, of the police power, whether an idea may be expressed or not, no matter whether it has value or lacks it. The League of Critics says expressly that it will exempt scientific works from its boycott; that it has no intention of depreciating the scientific efforts of foreign nations. Apparently it believes that it depends on it whether this branch of intellectual effort shall be disowned and that, if it is disowned, it will then (for the Germans) become non-existent.

Other bounders in the press do not stop even at science. No foreigner ought here-

after to be allowed to do scientific work at German universities. Fierce reproaches and threats are hurled at certain university professors, particularly those of the medical faculties, because they collaborate with foreign savants. All posts which science has to distribute are to be reserved for Germans. Everywhere and under all circumstances it must be seen to that no foreigner occupies a position which a German substitute could fill. It doesn't make any difference whether the German can do as well as the foreigner. With these raging barbarians progress and humanity count for nothing any more. Brutal force, not intellect; mass, not quality, are the deciding factors. What a filthy stable Germany has become! Who will cleanse it?

* * *

The present powers-that-be show great respect for Catholicism, although they hate it. They see in it an enormous mass and,

consequently, a factor in military power. They are sounding out the new Pope with great expectations, because he is supposed to be a political Pope, not a religious one, like his predecessor. In the highest circles in Berlin it is whispered that the Pope has a level head and that his personal predilection for everything French will not affect his judgment in political matters. These German clowns believe in all seriousness that they will be able to induce him to take Germany's side against France and Belgium, and they have hastened to put out feelers. For first come, first served.

A gentleman high in the Protestant faith said to me with indescribable emphasis that the Pope is now worth more to Germany than any single Great Power; above all things the present Pope, whom he used to know as a Cardinal. Also in domestic politics the Catholic Church has become a most important influence in Germany; that is to say, the Centrum party has—not

only because the Catholics can assure a decision on measures of consequence by virtue of their strength in the Reichstag, but also because they are expected to approve of the annexation of Western Catholic countries. In fact, there are in the Centrum some vicious self-seekers who want to play the rôle of pioneers in the molding of German purposes with regard to Belgium, etc., because they want to be somebodies at any cost. But more about this on another occasion.

September 6th.

My first railroad trip since the beginning of the war. A long, greatly overcrowded express train, most of the cars filled with wounded; a private car for an Austrian general and an American mission; also a car with eighty field nurses. The train stops very frequently and at all stations the relief service for wounded and unwounded soldiers is much in evidence, its

representatives offering food, drink, and tobacco to all those in uniform.

Most of the soldiers whom I saw in my first class section belonged to the older military classes, and since they have not yet been in battle appeared to be not entirely accustomed to their conversion into heroes and to the noisy honors paid to them. Perhaps they were also busy with their own thoughts. At any rate they sat firmly in their seats of honor and cast their eyes calmly on two families, rich in children, standing in the passageway before them, which had come out of Holland and before that had been in Belgium. I was also standing. These dirty Landwehr men caused me a certain sort of embarrassment, as though we better-clothed persons had demanded something unjust of them.

But there was a soldier among them who had been in the field, had received a slight wound, appeared to be of exceptional intelligence, spoke very correctly, and according

to his story had long had a position in England. What this person told the Landwehr people was all a shameful fabrication. I found my opinion about the worthlessness of soldiers' letters and soldiers' tales as testimony fully confirmed.

This man declared to his audience that the 42-centimeter guns (which, according to his own statement, he never could have seen, otherwise he would not have said what he did say) were fired from a distance of several kilometers by wireless telegraph. Then he described the assault on Namur by his detachment, which in spite of the fierce fire of the francs-tireurs had swum across the river and penetrated into the city. Details of his account showed clearly that he took every man in Belgium, including everybody in uniform or out of it, for a franc-tireur. He boasted to his hearers that he and his comrades, as soon as a single shot was fired from a village, had, without any further investigation, set fire

to the dwelling houses and had destroyed every human being in the neighborhood.

Moreover, it struck me that he retailed almost every one of the sensational stories in the newspapers as an experience which either he or acquaintances in his battalion had had. Thus he described the frightful effects of the dum-dum bullets exactly as they had been described in the newspapers. Further, he told about the wire cables which the Belgians had strung around Namur and charged with electricity, and how his comrades who ran against them were killed like flies. All this was related in a tone which tolerated no contradiction—in the tone of a man who had seen frightful things and now lives in an atmosphere far beyond and above our own.

Can one say that this fellow is an exception? Or does experience rather show us that the memory, the power to make distinctions between personal experiences and what one has heard told or has read, the

moral power to stick to the naked truth are extraordinarily weakened in the case of almost all men—the educated not excluded—who have been face to face with terrible events? I deduce from this that most men, even in normal times, talk very loosely and irresponsibly.

On the testimony of people like these the most shocking charges against the enemy's conduct of the war are based. Their letters from the front, which teem with tales of heroic deeds, or to put it otherwise, with barbaric simplicity, are sought for and published as documents for the use of the future analysts of campaigns. For this latter literary use I should gladly contribute a summary of the statements of this participant in the Belgian campaign. The confusion in these simple soldiers' minds works most injuriously to the poor inhabitants of an enemy country, who become the innocent victims of countless misunderstandings and preconceptions.

Evening in Berlin. A vast crowd salutes the incoming train with "Hochs" and "Hurrahs" and begins to sing *Die Wacht am Rhein*. A lively waving of handkerchiefs by elegant ladies. More people than usual in the streets, peering at the bulletins on the kiosks. At the hotels very many families of the country nobility, sitting together and engaged in intimate conversation. The ladies knitted stockings; the gentlemen shouted questions to one another about events at the front. Nothing else in Berlin.

September 8th.

On the journey from Berlin to Dresden the train runs past a big prisoners' camp. It is a piece of meadow land, fenced in with wire. The erection of barracks and tents is not yet completed. Many soldiers in red trousers and blue coats stand around or lie on the thin grass. Beyond a tent cover or two there seem to be no arrangements for their protection and care. One

was strikingly reminded of a zoölogical garden.

In Dresden they told me something more definite about another camp in the neighborhood, where fourteen thousand prisoners were collected. They sleep by threes in a horse's stall, on straw; there is no artificial light available; the poor people must crawl to bed as soon as it gets dark. Their provisioning is entrusted to a contractor, who for sixty pfennigs a day per head furnishes coffee in the morning; potatoes and rice, sometimes a piece of meat, at noon, and in the evening soup. If any one has money, he can buy something additional in a canteen; but no alcohol. As a rule the Frenchmen had plenty of money with them; the Russians averaged not more than a couple of roubles. The Frenchmen are well fed and respectable in appearance. The Russians look like starving beasts.

The fall of Maubeuge, with 40,000 prisoners, is announced.

September 9th.

In Vienna. General feeling very confident, in spite of the retreat near Lemberg and in spite of the second battle in that neighborhood now in progress. Extraordinary enthusiasm over the rapid progress of the Germans in the West. Great expectations of German aid against the Russians. If hospital autos were not driving through all sections of the city in wild haste and with shrill whistling; if all the streets were not swarming with officers and soldiers, one could here many times forget the war. In the hotels there was a very mixed international public. French was spoken freely and without any feeling of embarrassment, which would no longer be allowed in any Berlin hotel of the first class, provided that there were still foreigners in Berlin.

I had a conversation with some Rumanians. They assured me that a participation of Rumania in the war on the same

side with Austria-Hungary is not to be expected. King Charles had sought to bring about an adhesion of Rumania from the start, but had been able to find no ministry willing to stand for such a policy. Popular feeling in the country was all for the French; even the Russians were not thought of so badly any longer. A genuine hatred of Hungary inspired all classes of society. The eyes of the Rumanians were turned, not in the direction of Bessarabia, but in the direction of Siebenbürgen and the Bukowina. Moreover Russia would give back Bessarabia. Still they hesitated to enter into very close relations with Russia.

To take sides with neither party is the policy which is being followed just now in Rumania. But the entire country would rise against anyone who should try to bring it over to the side of Austria-Hungary. A renewal of the alliance with Germany would be possible only if Rumania had to do with an entirely different Austria and an entirely

different Hungary. There was no doubt whatever among the Rumanians that the Dual Monarchy would not now willingly make concessions of any consequence for their benefit. Rumania would much rather wait; since to take sides now would mean to invite an invasion of enemy troops and the shifting of a large portion of the theater of war to Rumania.

The attitude of Italy had made a great impression in Rumania. According to what I heard on this occasion, we can count surely and for a long time on Rumania's neutrality. She will show her colors very late, if at all. The eventual declaration of war by Turkey against Russia, she will take very calmly, so long as the fighting occurs in Asia. I would also like to believe that Rumania will remain tranquil, if Bulgaria moves against Serbia, although she herself doesn't know to-day to what action a renewal of general turmoil in the Balkans may force her.

Rumania's attitude was completely intelligible to the Austrians with whom I talked. In their view Austria-Hungary had made many political blunders in dealing with the Rumanians. But Hungary was to blame for all that. They talk here bitterly about Hungary.

As a matter of Vienna local color, the following little episode is worth relating. When a portly *feld-webel*, decked out with orders, graciously saluted us, I asked my Austrian companion how it happened that so typical a Viennese was wearing a Turkish fez? The answer was:

"He belongs to the Landwehr. When the caps provided for in the regulations ran short at the depot, they gave the soldiers fezes, or anything else they had on hand. He has nothing whatever to do with Bosnia."

Imagine a Prussian without the military headpiece which he ought to wear! He would die of shame or otherwise make an end of himself.

September 10th.

It is announced that the second battle near Lemberg has been lost. The Austrian armies covering Lemberg and Lublin have been withdrawn into a secure position, in order to be re-grouped and strengthened. The irresistible Austro-Hungarian offensive, of which there was so much talk, is over. Fewer boastful speeches and fewer violent threats against prospective conquered nations show me quite clearly during the pause which I am making in Berlin on my journey home, how quickly people can become humble. They also show, unfortunately, that only reverses, and not so-called higher perceptions, hold out any promise of the reformation of Prussia.

September 24th.

I have made no entries for some time. I could almost wish not to make any more. To act is more important than to write. But I don't know just how to act. In any

case I am making preparations to set up for myself and to quit suddenly and forever my present position and my daily work, from which I have long, but up to now vainly, desired to free myself.

What a change in the situation has occurred in the Western War theater! A strong French counter-offensive has driven back the German armies, which were already on the outskirts of Paris. Apparently a gap had been created between portions of the German forces pushing on too violently and too self-confidently, and the enemy almost succeeded in breaking through and in cutting off and enveloping a part of our troops. This peril has been averted at the cost of severe fighting and great losses. Only north of Rheims did the German retirement come to an end. An indecisive battle has been raging there for several days. Many German troops have been drawn from Alsace-Lorraine and dispatched to the north of France, in conse-

quence of which the French have again crossed into Alsace-Lorraine at various points.

We hear nothing more of the bombardment of Nancy, about which whispers had been going around. The Crown Prince of Prussia stands in the region of Verdun, which has not yet fallen. According to program the forts defending Verdun will gradually be reduced by heavy artillery. Taken all in all, it no longer looks as if the Germans would spread over France easily —to waltz music, as it were. The losses on both sides must have been frightful.

Nothing more is heard from the Eastern War theater since Hindenburg's imposing victory.

The soundness of my opinion that with our invasion of Belgium we committed not only an act of treachery and of brutality, but also an act of folly, seems to me to be confirmed. If the Germans had assumed the defensive against France and

had thrown their main strength against Russia, they would have been in a better position from the military point-of-view. But if it was believed that we must make an offensive against France, then, as one sees to-day, a direct and honorable attack launched against the French eastern frontier would have been safer than the movement across Belgium.

From the fact that some of our heaviest guns have been taken from Lorraine to Belgium, an expert, who is an acquaintance of mine, concludes that the Germans either wish to attempt, or have been forced to attempt, the reduction of Antwerp.

September 25th.

The mania of the German press has become revolting. One must avoid many columns of their contents as he avoids mud puddles. I cast a rapid glance of disgust at some newspapers, like one who notices each day that a loathsome reptile, which he

cannot kill, is still in the same place. Yes, the press is really unanimous, as it boasts of being. May the German people never suffer under the accusation that what the world hears these days is the free speech of the people through its own spokesmen! The fate of Germany would be frightful, if our opponents, in case of victory, should not be more magnanimous than the German press is.

Even if I did not read the foreign papers and so could not form a judgment by contrast and comparison, I should still recognize from the speech of the German newspapers that our degradation is the deepest of all. I certainly do not forget that we are in a state of siege, and that every criticism and every expression of opinion not inspired by the Government is suppressed with draconic severity. But the newspapers, even in Germany, could not be compelled to bellow. They could be silent instead of joining in inciting hate.

They do not do this. On the contrary, they outdo the Government, toward which their complacence knows no limit. Never will the German press be able to lift the burden of disgrace with which it has laden itself in this war. After the war we must create a new press. The press of to-day is a hideous leper. Germany needs a new skin, as well as a new brain and a new heart.

I cannot believe that hundreds of thousands who have read the papers in the last week, do not share my feelings. What I have to reproach the press for is not so much its ignorance, its philistinism, its lack of taste, its arrogance, and its rudeness as its fundamental falsity, injustice, wickedness, and hatefulness. I give some examples.

If the Belgian question is discussed, then German "experts and former friends" have nothing to say but what is evil and insulting. The Belgians are cowardly, tricky, without patriotism, unmanageable, dissentious. The King is a foolish weakling

and stage hero; his appeals to his people are falsifications of history, couched in hollow phrases. His Minister President is an imitator of the French and, in fact, a real Frenchman, who for years has been plotting treachery against Belgium, in order to deliver her over to France. The Queen is unworthy of her ancestry, because she has fled to England. If she should withdraw from the English Court, a certain amount of sympathy might be assured her, since the Crown Prince of Bavaria is her brother-in-law and the Crown Prince of Prussia was her friend.

No single voice is raised which deplores the tragic fate of Belgium, calls her misfortune undeserved, concedes her any good qualities, pleads for mildness and charity, does not hold her whole people responsible for the excesses of individuals and does not urge that she be dismembered and despoiled.

No voice asks for serious consideration of the question whether the invasion of Bel-

gium was justifiable, unavoidable, or even advantageous. No; for every newspaper writer assumes without proof that there was no other way out but to ignore Belgian sovereignty; that Belgium had already abandoned her neutrality; that it was right to make her lick the German hand, which she had bitten.

The state of siege brings many kinds of scoundrels into the foreground. They offer the Government their pens for all sorts of foul deeds, as bravos offer their stilettos. The picked troops of this infamous army of journalists belong to three classes. They consist, first, of disgustingly stupid officers on the retired list, who, even in time of war, are not available as soldiers; secondly, of worthy pastors, who, with an icy soul and a good-natured smile, trumpet forth every base deed as a manifestation of German Protestant heroism; and, thirdly (the worst of all), of numerous modern university professors, who, overladen with titles and dis-

tinctions, swimming with every patriotic current, are either mercenaries or bounders and who, outside the field of their own specialties, are seeking, not clearness and truth, but only temporary notoriety.

This highly respectable scum of three leading Prussian professions wants to make history by lying; wants to create historical sources by making barefaced assertions. Thus it comes to pass that to-day one is looked upon with contempt in Germany, if one declares that it is unlikely, or, at any rate, not proved that the French were the first to march into Belgium or had intended doing so. Yet every day brings to anybody who wants to see new proofs that France fully respected Belgian neutrality. But go on lying, you barbarians! Truth will hurl you into the abyss.

The press abuses France no less vilely. Every French communiqué is false; every French statement is mere manipulation of phrases. The French soldiers fight reluct-

antly, use dum-dum bullets, ravage and plunder, commit the most atrocious crimes, and flee like sheep before the German troops. The financial condition of the country is pitiable; the Government is powerless; the generals are either incompetent or are monarchists and are at odds with their English colleagues.

There is not a glimmer of reason or justice, which moves German journalists to show honor to or appreciation of the enemy. Yet occasionally dignified and favorable comments on the German troops reach us from France and the German press reprints them with pride. Still this example does not inspire anyone here to reciprocate, although there is sufficient occasion. For in this war the French official statements have always told the truth, plainly and unreservedly, even when it was painful to do so. While the Germans are ready to tell the truth only so long as they are winning victories.

The inferiority of the German press is disclosed most shamefully by a comparison with the English press. The English newspapers publish, together with many stupid and spiteful things, a great deal that is just and is complimentary to the Germans. The latter, however, publish only vulgar threats, envious abuse and nasty criticism of everything that is English. English utterances, which are extravagantly favorable to Germany, are referred to as brave and manly. But that is the sum total of bravery and manliness in the German press.

As to what our newspapers falsely say about the Russians and the Eastern peoples, I shall be silent. Our press cannot be outdone even in those countries. It is in line with our admirable German organization to invent every day a new revolution, a new indication of weakness, discord, and discontent, a new evidence of hypocrisy, corruption, and perversion, a new illumination

of the methods employed by the other side in plotting for the war. It is in line with German discipline to accept as true whatever the most stupid of our heroes at the front writes home and to reject as false anything that an enemy, even of the highest reputation, may say. To cap the climax of its effrontery the German press offers its bungling fabrications to neutral countries as the pure truth and summons them to its defense. The answer of the neutral press is an indignant refusal. It justly says that we offer it nothing but cheap bombast and self-glorification; that we ignore or comment spitefully on foreign views unless they second Germany's; that in our newspapers there is never any talk of humanity, moderation, and justice, but only senseless accusations, dire threats, and demands that no consideration or mercy be shown the enemy. When German savants send disgraceful newspapers, like the *Leipziger Neuste Nachrichten*, to Swiss professors "in

the interest of truth," it is clearly seen how little the Germans understand what Europe is and what Europe will remain.

The German Government now has everywhere agents whose mission it is, not to convert the newspapers of the neutral countries, but to corrupt them, in order to get their support. No one in Germany believes that there is a more effective instrument than corruption. A well-known Catholic Reichstag Deputy also renders our Government rascally services of this sort, organized on a large scale. He writes articles which are then spread abroad at the expense of the Government. I recall one of his articles, in which he asserts, without trying to furnish any proof, that the French intended to violate Swiss neutrality; that they had asked Switzerland to allow them a free passage into Germany, and had been prevented from forcing a passage only by a Swiss mobilization which was directed against France alone. Anyone who doesn't

believe this can look up the article in the *Tag*.

As I have said before, the Germans try to account for their unpopularity by explaining that they have not yet sufficiently debauched the foreign press. Mark the word—debauched, not enlightened or educated! The German conception of the rest of the world is very simple! And our world politics is conducted on this same simple basis. What was beyond the skill of our diplomats is to be accomplished by the Golden Ass.

When the Foreign Office and the Military Administration lack channels of their own they go to the big business firms and inquire whether the latter have confidential agents abroad who might transmit to the leading statesmen the millions necessary to induce them to change their views. In doing this it is assumed as a matter of course that the Ministers of the neutral States—not the press alone—have already been debauched

by the other side and that it is only a question of overcoming competition. We no longer seem to believe it possible that any statesman would resist temptation on a sufficiently impressive scale or would prefer to follow an honorable, uncoerced policy dictated by the best interests of his country.

I could tell much more about these practices, which I have long hated. But to-day I only want to give expression to the thought how horrible it would be if, because of vast sums of money poured into the pockets of dishonest public servants, whole nations were to be sacrificed and, so to speak, farmed out for military purposes. Will there ever be a historian who will investigate these matters and drag them out into the light?

September 29th.

For weeks nothing but laconic, empty reports from the theaters of war. One cannot

form an idea of the true situation. The official bulletin writers have gone out of business, obviously because there are no victories to report. The Germans are, indeed, a good-natured people, born to blind obedience and humble willingness to let others do their thinking for them. Otherwise they would not stand this long silence, interrupted only by a few contradictory, fragmentary outgivings. But no questions are asked. In spite of the public uneasiness no one dares to do that.

That things are not cheerful at Grand Headquarters I have learned from persons who were received there by the Kaiser. But I shall not go into the dissensions there. This much is certain. The German supreme command, perhaps also the army commanders, did not expect any serious resistance on the part of the French in the neighborhood of Paris, and were hardly aware of the presence of the hostile army which suddenly repulsed them. It is

significant that the retreat was described in our official announcements as a temporary withdrawal of our right wing near Paris for tactical reasons.

Innumerable war critics have explained to us with a knowing smile the wonderful trap which has been thus set for the French. The armies on the Alsace-Lorraine border would attack the rear of the French armies that had pushed north. The pompous announcement of the bombardment of Nancy in the presence of the Kaiser also seemed to suggest that, in the hope of other rapid successes, they wanted to present the retreat, which was a necessity, in the light of a virtue. But nothing more is heard of Nancy. True, a frontier fortress (Camp des Romains) has fallen. But so far a real passage of the Meuse has not been effected. It is beyond doubt that our present front in France is prescribed for us by the French.

Indications are increasing that after a long pause a campaign will be made against

the Russians. Next time the Austrians and the Germans will unite their forces.

* * *

A few days ago the commander-in-chief of the Mark forbade the publication of the Social-Democratic *Vorwärts* until further notice. The reason given for this action is astonishing. It was that *Vorwärts* had published an article in which the causes of the outbreak of the war were discussed and, despite certain reservations, much was said in justification of the attitude of our opponents. Moreover, the innocence of the German Government was established only in a very dubious and roundabout manner. It was also said that after the war the proletariat must continue to fight with all their power for the progress of mankind and of humanity.

When one of the greatest German newspapers is suspended outright, without warning and without a preliminary penalty,

no one should harbor a doubt about the disgrace it is to be a German subject. What would await us if the war should end victoriously and a new spirit would begin to stir! Kicks and stones, instead of bread; scorn instead of gratitude or the fulfillment of promises to recognize parties no longer! How can these men dare to point again and again to German solidarity and unity and thereby make the German people responsible, in the eyes of the enemy, for their own incompetent and criminal policies, and at the same time expose the German people to universal detestation, when in all Germany no word may be spoken or printed for which the Government has not given the signal!

As I recently read, Deputy Liebknecht wanted to make a speech in Stuttgart about the annexation hubbub. A very just and worthy purpose, in view of the crazy schemes of subjugation which, so long as our first victorious advance lasted, were flitting

about in German heads. This speech was summarily interdicted. Anyone who wants to know what political freedom amounted to in Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century should remember such things. Prussia—Russia: what is the difference between them and in whose favor is this difference?

* * *

A world-wide commotion, still greater than that caused by the burning of Louvain, was excited a few days ago by the news that German troops had bombarded the Cathedral of Rheims, and had destroyed it in great part. The German explanation is that an observation post had been established in the church tower. The French Government denies this. At all events we have to deal here again with one of those delusions under which both army leaders and soldiers so frequently suffer. If the claim of the Germans was true, they were

nevertheless far from excusable. It is very symptomatic that the Germans are persuading themselves that if the French had come to Cologne they would have reduced the Cologne Cathedral to ashes.

* * *

A war correspondent has been telling in a newspaper about the naïve hopes which the soldiers pin on the personality of old General Haeseler, of whom they expect something absolutely extraordinary. They have spread rumors that he has disappeared somewhere with forty thousand men, has had underground passages dug toward a great fortress, and will suddenly appear with his men inside the fortress.

The condescending correspondent deduces from this that Haeseler has already become in his lifetime a supernatural, Saga figure. I shake my head at the simplicity of our soldiers and recall having read not long ago that the aged Haeseler, who, as is well

known, has no command, rode out on patrol in person and brought back a single soldier as a prisoner. In this story there is a hint of mental weakness and second childhood on the part of an old man whose bloodthirstiness is still unsatisfied. I see him playing, a broken-down graybeard, with his soldiers, just as an idiot plays with a doll. After devoting his whole life to the command of armies and the development of battle plans, he has not yet had a chance to participate in a real war.

October 4th.

A gentleman of some importance in the war has returned from a trip to Grand Headquarters. He visited also the war theater in Lorraine and the region about Antwerp. He says that few German troops are now stationed in the Toul-Verdun area. The public is deceived, if it believes, on the strength of unmodified official reports, that the effort to pass the Meuse and to force the

fall of Verdun is being actively pushed. On the contrary, the investment of Antwerp is being proceeded with energetically; the Germans have few troops there, but a great many heavy guns. Presumably the German troops near Rheims have again advanced far enough to attack and break through. But they have had strict orders to remain inactive until the new battle front toward the coast has been stabilized.

This gentleman reports that the Kaiser shows himself daily for a very brief period at Grand Headquarters. Field Marshal von Moltke is rather apathetic; the real force and the coming man is now the War Minister, von Falkenhayn, who is assisted by some capable general staff officers. There is a great crowd of exalted and still more exalted personages at headquarters, which has now been shifted from Luxemburg to Mezières.

The demand for munitions has outrun all expectations. The problem of a munition

reserve requires great consideration. I shall not reproduce the technical details which this gentleman gave me. But the following seems to me worth recording. The French field gun is universally admired and recognized as superior to the German. It has been a true piece of good fortune that the French artillery ammunition is bad. The superiority of the French field gun is a fine testimonial to French capacity, for they began to experiment on this gun in the year 1896, while the Germans did not begin until almost ten years later.

This gentleman, who keeps close track of military affairs, also tells me, as others have done before, that the German soldiers have not dropped their habits of plundering and have become rather brutal. He himself saw a part of the city of Mechlin sacked by soldiers of very many different regiments. The houses were burst open; articles which could not be destroyed on the spot were carried away in wagons. Officers also took

a hand in this destruction and plundering. On the recommendation of my informant, police were stationed in this part of the city to guard the houses. But it had already been devastated to a serious extent.

October 5th.

The inexpressibly vulgar tone of the German press has been moderated a little in recent days. Not because it had begun to be ashamed of itself, but because the oil of fresh news of victory was not forthcoming to maintain its frightful patriotic ardor. It is already afraid that the medicine which it would prescribe for the enemy may, under certain circumstances, be prescribed for the Germans themselves. The newspapers have often enough bellowed out to our opponents: "This world war is a world ordeal, arranged by God."

But this phrase can also be fulfilled in a sense the reverse of theirs.

* * *

It has very recently become the order of the day to praise the Bavarian soldiers. They are described as being especially terrible, as throwing themselves on the enemy with bayonets and musket butts, without minding the devastating fire of the machine guns and preferring to die rather than be taken prisoners. As a Bavarian I cannot take any satisfaction in news of this sort. What do these Bavarians know about the cause of the war? On whose side does the guilt lie? Who has threatened them? What have they in common with the ideas and interests which brought Germany into its intolerable position in Europe?

What do they know about their opponents? When have they experienced any unfriendliness on the part of any one of their present enemies? What do they know about the legal and moral contentions of their antagonists? Most of all, what do they know about the usages of international law?

The Old Bavarians, who are so extolled (I am not one of them), are a rough, rather brutal, generally good-natured country and mountain folk, which blindly answers the call to war, as many other German stocks do, but perhaps with an especial satisfaction sees itself commanded to quarrel, to plunder, and to murder, because it is peculiarly without self-knowledge and concerns itself but little about the reasons which have brought it suddenly face to face with foes. Does this people, devoted to its own narrow home surroundings, really know whether its good or its evil instincts have been aroused?

No. It acts now in folly and in bigotry, as so often before it has acted under the spell of its political predilections and hatreds. It begins to admire Prussia and her king at a moment when both have lost the last remnant of sympathy and respect the world over. As formerly Prussia was the hereditary foe, so France is now—and without any reason.

If the beautiful Bavarian land had maintained a political isolation like that of Switzerland, the Bavarian people could long ago have trodden the path of true progress. They would not have lacked clear lodestars. The great and limitless problems with which other peoples torment themselves have practically no meaning for this little interior nation, capable of living on its own resources. Nature intended it to be a friend to all its neighbors. The evil association with Prussia brings with it such consequences that one now reads: the Bavarians are the most terrible of all in battle; they take off their coats in order to be able to fight better; with their long knives they cut down everything which comes in their way; they grant no quarter and for that reason they are now stationed opposite the English troops.

Our newspapers announce that a Frenchman has defended the right of France to send black troops against the Germans on

the ground that Germany has turned loose the Bavarians against the French. Most people see in this anecdote a compliment to the Bavarians, of which they may well be proud. So deep has this people sunk—a people essentially sound, temperate, and filled with loyalty to their own land.

* * *

I get news at first hand that the commission for the investigation of Russian outrages in East Prussia, with the Minister of the Interior, the Ober-Präsident, etc., at its head, has returned without findings, except such as could be constructed from the heated fancies of their fellow countrymen. It has not been able to verify a single one of the reported outrages. This is important enough to go into further.

Hair-raising details of Russian barbarity had been given us. Public opinion credulously accepted these tales, even though they ran to frightful extremes—for instance,

that the Russian soldiers made a practice of nailing the hands of little country children to tables. For with us in Germany the Russian soldier is regarded as a mere beast of prey, whose brutality, cruelty, shamelessness, and passion for destruction cannot be paralleled, to an equal degree, in any other portion of the human race.

I had already doubted the representative character of this picture and, on the basis of various impressions of Russia, had imagined that the Russian soldier may well be still more lacking in judgment and still more excitable than the German soldier is, but yet milder, more good humored, and more altruistic than the latter. It must be considered that in Russia there are many and very dissimilar stocks; but I found my conception confirmed in the minute portraits of the Russian mujik drawn by the great Russian authors and in the current news about intellectual movements in all parts of Russia. If anyone replies that the

Russian soldier blindly obeys his leaders, then I must say that these leaders seem to me, with all their other defects, to be far superior to our own in whatever concerns honest, humane feeling and inclinations toward justice and magnanimity.

I cannot describe my feelings when I now hear from authentic sources that not a single violation of international law occurred. The commission admits—naturally, not publicly,—that the Russians have not been as ruthless as one might expect them to be in war. The East Prussian population and local authorities have frequently expressed themselves very gratefully and very flatteringly in regard to the behavior of the Russians.

Germans, be still and bow your heads in shame! In your boorish simplicity you are a peril to the world. We have been told that entire cities were plundered by the Russians; that they were wasted by fire and sword. Now the burgomasters of these

German cities themselves give official evidence of the good conduct of the Russian forces of occupation.

We were told that many foresters of the Rominter Heide, some fifty in all, were shot at the order of a Russian general. The foresters are still alive and know nothing of any attempt to commit such an outrage. We have also been informed that a Russian general has been dragged in chains before a court-martial because he advised his soldiers to commit acts in violation of international law. The text, even, of his order has been published. But of this charge, as of all the others, nothing remains—nothing beyond our own insults and threats.

We try to square ourselves with shabby phrases like these: In order to make a good impression on the Prussian population the Russian soldiers and army leaders have not behaved as badly as it is their general practice to do! Make a good impression yourselves in the same way; win

the respect of enemy populations, as the Russians did, and I shall gladly think that you have acted not out of policy but out of generosity!

What did Hindenburg's troops do when they triumphed over the Russians? The story goes from mouth to mouth: It was not enough that the enemy was driven into the swamps; tens of thousands of them who wished to surrender and sought to clamber out of the morass were pushed back again at the bayonet's point, until they were suffocated and drowned. This was done under orders. Quarter was not to be given. One could not make use at home of so many prisoners. For days and nights the cries of the drowning were heard, so piercing that they sounded above the thunder of the cannon; and many a soldier who was obliged to listen to this clamor of desperation lost his reason.

Ninety thousand prisoners were taken in that battle; but it is said that still more were

murdered as they lay helpless and pleading for aid.

I have no absolute assurance that this is true. But everybody says it really happened and no one has a word of regret for it. On the contrary, everyone approves it and says that it was the only proper thing to do.

This state of mind is for me far more important than the question how much of what rumor tells us is so. Only to-day a journalist and officer, a subaltern, but a typical figure, told me he had heard that no quarter would be given any more when it could be avoided; that this was also good policy; that we had already a couple of hundred thousand prisoners in the country, who were a burden and a peril. It would be far better if they were killed at once on the battlefield. The quicker the power and the blood of the enemy nations are exhausted, the sooner will the war be decided and our overlordship assured.

This fellow told me all this with the well-

known German childlike smile and calm blue eye. He himself would gladly shoot prisoners. He does not pursue the idea any further, and never thinks that the enemy might also kill prisoners. For we have more prisoners than the enemy has!

October 6th.

To-day I saw what might be called a protocol of the future arrangement of Europe in case of victory for us—such as I have often read about. I am now beginning to collect these amusing documents, without wasting here any further words about them. But if I should ever hear a voice in Germany which speaks of justice, humanity, or non-material progress after the war, or after our victory, then I will comment on the fact with pride and very fully, even if it is the voice of an unimportant and unknown person. I shall call him the first European in Germany. Unfortunately all these innumerable greedy and violent de-

mands are put forward by persons who belong to influential and controlling circles. No wonder that Germany has no friend abroad. She deserves none. Such a foreign friend would be a suspicious person, a friend of materialism, of lies and corruption.

I am just reading also a copy of a correspondence between two very influential Germans, in which the hostile opinion of the populace and press in Holland is discussed and in which the employment of money to the greatest and most elaborate extent is recommended as the only, and at the same time a really efficient, means of overcoming this feeling. It was suggested that the monies which are now being advanced out of the war fund by the Foreign Office should be recovered later through a war indemnity.

The assurance and conviction with which this proposition is made horrify even me, who am accustomed to the unusual. The person to whom the proposition was addressed replies, of course, that he believes

that with a part of the people of Holland, this means, which he has himself successfully employed in Belgium, Italy, and Rumania, and whose further employment he has recommended, will be less effective than good words will be. But he has spoken to the Foreign Office of this valuable method of propaganda and offers the assurance that already in Holland, as in other countries, trusted emissaries of the Foreign Office are pursuing with ample means the campaign discussed in the correspondence.

Let one paint for himself the dazzling picture of our moral future, if, along with the German armies, German methods are victorious.

October 24th.

For some weeks I have made no entries. Driven by an intolerable unrest, I went on a journey. I have seen relatives and friends. But my desperation has not become lessened. We cannot for the present help ourselves.

Almost all of us are caught up in the great war machine. Even the few who hold back see no other possibility than that of helping in some way, coöperating in a so-called harmless manner, humbly seeking small positions, because one cannot stop doing something, because one must alleviate misery, because one is powerless against the storm. Most of those who are unfit for any kind of war service have saved themselves from inner shipwreck by letting themselves be carried along on the currents of the day; and the very small remnant which stands apart complainingly and has remained sensitive to the universal distress of the times only aggravates my helpless woe.

He who still has strength and would like to do something finds his loneliness frightful. The hiss of hatred drowns his words. Overpowered by the pandemonium around him he closes his eye; he cannot flee and he cannot die; the whirlpool blinds him and takes his breath.

What shall I write? I do not feel as if I had omitted much. I could only have restated the melancholy convictions which I have already expressed, strengthening them with new examples.

Moreover, there has been very little change in the theaters of war. It is true that Antwerp fell some time ago. But its fall has had no vital consequences in the way of hastening the end of the war. Belgian troops still defend themselves desperately against the German thrust in the North. In the neighborhood of Lille continuous fighting is reported, without great results. Nothing has happened in the way of repairing the wrong against Belgium; and the longer we persist in a military occupation of Belgian territory, the severer and more terrible will the conflict be.

Perhaps one may say that the excitement which has raged for the last few months among our people has subsided in a certain measure. After the rapid advances of

August the suspension of all major operations through September and October has seemed very mysterious to the people. But the bellowing of the press seeks to drown out this sentiment. May things run such a course that a paralysis follows over-excitement, and that sober consideration follows paralysis!

Also in the East the great decisive battles of which there has been talk for weeks have not been begun.

* * *

Landsturm formations are already being created to a large extent, and sent on the way to the fronts. An extraordinary number of volunteers have been put into training, and a still greater number are available as the occasion for using them arises—that is, as soon as they can be clothed and drilled.

* * *

On my journey I had a chance to see a prisoners' camp. I shall never forget the

disconsolateness with which a little old, broken-down man in peasant's clothes sat alongside a half-grown boy, on a long wooden bench. Why had they brought these poor creatures here? What crime can they have committed, that we do not now really kill them, but will not allow them to go free?

In the neighborhood a battalion of elderly men were drilling under the command of an elderly, sloppy, and awkward officer. The drill seemed to me as foolish and as unmilitary as possible. When one sees these people, one can hardly think of them as rendering more than a merely negative service as soldiers. The majority of the men and the reserve officers are as unfit physically as they are mentally.

Almost all of them have taken physical exercise at only one period of their lives—when they were forced to do so during their compulsory service in the army. Before that and afterwards they were plunged in

that lethargy which constitutes so essential an element of German *Gemüthlichkeit* and which shows in the well-known German masculine figure. If a German's occupation requires no physical exercise, he takes none; for everyone conforms to the special demands of his vocation and practices it until his mental and physical machinery wears out.

Most of the reserve officers have held on to their gay-colored coats as the hall-mark of their social position and point-of-view, just like a university corps band, but without developing their military knowledge or capacity. I should never have thought that they still took their rôle as soldiers seriously and could possibly train troops.

In spite of all that has happened I cannot even to-day regard the Germans as a people warlike by nature. The inclination they show to squeeze their bloated, prematurely flabby bodies into uniforms is not a proof of warlike disposition. They always appeared

to me like asses who gladly incase themselves in lions' skins and cheer themselves with the idea that all the world about them consists also of similarly disguised asses.

Should the Germans, however, really prove superior in this war, and I were called upon to solve the mystery, I should say that even the most stupid and clumsy wins in war, if he is only ready to sacrifice his intellect, to make the most primitive movements, which, however ridiculous in detail, are imposing in the mass, and never ceases doing so until he is relieved either by death or by a word of command.

* * *

On my journey I had a conversation with one of our best known financiers. As I was struck by this gentleman's "moderate" views, I want to put them on record. For he is the first responsible German I have met who wants to treat France leniently. According to him, we must first come to an

agreement with France before there can be a settling of accounts with England. From France he wanted "only" a few important frontier districts, such as Longwy and Briey, because of their iron deposits. But he wanted to give France the greatest part of Belgium, inclusive of Brussels and Ostend, retaining for Germany only Liège and Antwerp, with a connecting strip of land, and to offer to the Dutch, who would have to cede Maestricht and their land on the Scheldt, rich compensation in the province of Limburg.

At the same time advantageous treaties, establishing a sort of tariff union, ought to be concluded with France and Holland (Belgium had, of course, already been partitioned). He did not doubt that we could reach such an agreement both with France and with Holland. Only a little skillful diplomatic work would be needed as soon as impending operations on the Western front should produce another impressive German

victory. The present Imperial Chancellor and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs seemed to him unfit for such a task. He considered Minister Delbrück the best chief in sight, but also admitted that Admiral Tirpitz possessed high qualifications.

* * *

Once I rode in the same railroad compartment with half a dozen wounded soldiers, each one of whom belonged to a different regiment. One of them was disabled during the siege of Lunéville. He was disconsolate because he was not sent back to France by way of Belgium, since he would have been glad of an opportunity to see that part of the world also. Another, who was blind of one eye, was heartily glad to come home and to be definitely exempted from military service. A third said that he had lain three weeks long in the trenches, had suffered many hardships, and been half starved and was thankful for the bullet which sent him home.

The fourth told naïvely and slyly, with the applause of the others, how they had plundered locked houses and jewelry shops and set fire to entire communities, "whenever they were displeased at something"; how they forcibly took away food from the population, and yet had often nothing to eat for several days. In one house only, he said in conclusion, they had taken nothing. A dead man lay there in the coffin, and before him, on the ground, an old woman, also dead. It looked as if a funeral had been interrupted.

Another praised the power of the German attack. The Germans, he said, could not be held back whenever they got within two hundred meters of the French. The latter always surrendered at once, holding high the butt-ends of their guns. It was harder to take the English.

The sixth, a fresh young man, had only minor war adventures to relate, and contrasted favorably with his companions, all of

whom either brooded gloomily or laughed suspiciously.

Our patriots maintain that you can tell merely by looking at our soldiers that they are incapable of committing brutalities or of murdering people. But it amounts to the same thing when these patriots rejoice that a just punishment was meted out to Belgian communities with true berserker rage.

Each of these six men was frankly delighted to have escaped the dangers and the hardships of the war with a memento. Since the newspapers maintain that all our wounded are eager to return to the front, the war correspondents must be guilty of willful credulity, to say the least. The soldiers like to brag, and take their cue from the expectations of the listener.

In most cases they are asked to relate instances of extraordinary courage, of so-called "pluck." Should anyone, however, strike a clear, human, and serious note—the

sort of note which would inspire them with moral courage—they speedily confess their weariness of war.

The six above-mentioned poor devils, who were grateful for my attitude and my sympathy, manifestly preferred my society to the advances of other passengers, who with the customary stiff compliments offered them "hero fire"—the present slang word for soldiers' tobacco. Whatever these six men may have done, they are not to blame. They did not know any better, they do not understand the limits of their rights and duties. Who was there to teach them? At home, in school, in the barracks, in their vocations, there was no one to take the trouble of raising the man within them to a higher, freer level. They received orders, and they obeyed. Even where they inwardly resisted they did not know how to give expression to their better feelings, because nobody helped them to an understanding of their own consciences. They

remained inarticulate, confused, and mistrustful, and finally regulated themselves in what they did and left undone by the injunctions and prohibitions of the powers set over them.

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On my journey I looked up a German teacher of international law, who remembered me very well from university days. Even this man seemed to me to be on the wrong path, and very much inclined to bring his scientific knowledge into harmony with the doings of the German military and political leaders. I said to him that it was very regrettable that his science had remained in Germany a book with seven seals. At most there were in the Foreign Office a few vain and ridiculous jurists, with a barren knowledge of the subject matter of international law. Instruction in international law should be given to all sections of the people. Especially, those attached to the military administration should have a

knowledge of it; but in that administration those in the highest positions are ignorant; a very few of them do what is necessary, guided by their own hearts, not by a familiarity with the law of nations.

He agreed with me in this and told me of a number of cases on which he was engaged, in which newspapers and military officers had committed the most narrow-minded and dangerous blunders in interpreting international law. In his opinion it was more important even than physical drill that the soldier in every grade should be thoroughly instructed in his proper behavior in an enemy country. It was not enough to put a printed pamphlet in the hands of a soldier on the march, as had recently been done. It was a little too much for him, however, when I said that we had already so much on our conscience in this war that our whole credit as a civilized people had been wiped out.

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The stupid altercations between authors and artists continue. The scenes become daily more disgusting. To-day a foreign painter is expelled from various German societies because he signed a protest. To-morrow a German author pours the vial of his patriotic abuse on the head of a foreign colleague and former friend. The proposition is regularly renewed to buy in future no picture or book of a foreigner, to exhibit none, to praise or even to notice none. It is again and again exploited as a special grievance that a foreigner has enjoyed a good market and reputation in Germany.

Ought one not to say that all the world has gone mad, since it thinks that the artist must create, not out of his own thoughts and feelings, but merely to please his public! If the guardians of the true, the good, and the beautiful have now nothing but extravagant words of hate, where shall we poor blinded, down-trodden, and enslaved look for light? The man who wrote the

Song of Hate, which is making the rounds these days, can be only the grotesque caricature of a poet.

October 25th.

I had a visit from a prominent and intelligent Dutch merchant, who has many connections in Germany and whose wife is a German. He emphasized Holland's desire to remain neutral under all circumstances, but he bluntly declared that there was no sympathy in Holland for the German cause. Our assault on Belgium had made the chasm between the German and the Dutch points-of-view unbridgeable. When he attempted to defend the Germans, he had often been met with questions or answers to which he could make no convincing reply.

The Dutch, in his view, fear Germany more than they fear England; above all they fear German encroachments in case of a German victory. The Dutch, he said, wished no correction of their German fron-

tier; they would relinquish neither Maestricht nor the mouth of the Scheldt, even though the Germans should offer them territory much more extensive in exchange. The province of Zeeland has always been Dutch; the Belgian province of Limburg, on the contrary, has very little in common with Holland. Dutchmen hate the idea that still in the twentieth century there can be chaffering and bargaining over the political status of such territory. They draw the conclusion that Germany, if she retained Antwerp, would wish to have the Dutch barrier around that city removed; but they do not wish to go into such a trade. The Hollanders want to keep what belongs to them and do not seek to have anything else bestowed on them by Germany.

They say in Holland:

The part of Belgium which once belonged to us, we saw cut off without any regret. If we had put any value on it, we would long ago have attempted ourselves either to keep it, or to

recover it. What is important for us is our complete independence. We want to remain Hollanders, as other people want to remain Swiss, and, least of all, do we want to get mixed up with Germany. Not only because German methods of government are like a blow in the face to us, but also because our material interests do not accord with German interests.

The Dutch have the free trade point of view. A tariff union with Germany would mean, however, that they should shut themselves off from the sea, a thing which would never occur to them. Moreover, the Dutch way of thinking and acting is more in harmony with the English way. The English have converted the meanest act which, in Dutch estimation, they have ever committed—namely, the attack on the Boers—into a glorious page in their history, inasmuch as they have completely reconciled the Boers, who are now scarcely less their own masters than they were before. The live-and-let-live theory of the English has unfortunately not prevailed with the German

Government even from its first beginnings. The cry of the Poles, the Danes, the Alsatians, and now also of the Belgians stirs every nerve and braces every muscle in Holland to the utmost alertness and vigilance.

Yes, you Germans, learn now, when it is not too late! No one wants the bones from your robber feasts, which you think of throwing to him. Rather will everyone take you by the scruff of the neck because of the flower of human life which you have slain. You can tempt Holland as little as France with your offer of a scrap of Belgium. Europe begins to turn toward a better religion. But you have remained pagans.

October 26th.

The Chief of the General Staff, von Moltke, has, on account of sickness, turned over his duties to the Minister of War, von Falkenhayn. But he is said to be already better, and consequently the sickness is regarded as a pretext. What a shout of

triumph would have been raised by the German press, by order of the Government, if France has been forced to announce a change in the highest command. As one hears, von Moltke faithfully executed the plans inherited from his predecessors, adding to them nothing of his own. As long as von Moltke was Chief of the General Staff, the Kaiser was the real leader. Therefore, this resignation means a fiasco for the Kaiser. After a long period of waiting, without victory or defeat, the public would have wished for other news than this announcement of a change in command. Personal differences are now cutting a big figure at headquarters. There are at present many sick men there, every one of whom wants to be a doctor.

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The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, *i.e.*, the Government, has recently published a revelation, according to which Belgium has for years been allied with France and

England against Germany. Documents are said to have been found in Antwerp which prove this alliance. The Belgian Government has solemnly protested against this statement and asked our Government to publish those documents fully, not mere extracts from them. Then the permissible and purely defensive character of that rapprochement with France and England would be established.

I don't care to enter into particulars, but will only say that the documents published by the newspaper in question do not establish what the German Government fain would have the public read into them. The entire neutral press abroad has justly repudiated the calumnies of the Prussian official organ.

These lies are intended not only to distort wrong into right, but to increase war enthusiasm among the people. Unhappily, the Government plays adroitly on the lack of judgment of the German people, which at

all times it has led away from the light, instead of toward the light. Besides, those military plans date some years back, and one doesn't know whether they still were or ever had been considered operative. In no case did they pledge Belgium to a hostile act against us, as long as we left her in peace.

October 27th.

The time is long past, when, according to program, France should have been brought entirely to her knees. Now we are no longer told that only through a speedy victory over France can we conquer our enemies. But they give us to understand that in the near future Dunkirk, Calais, and other towns on the coast will be captured—which, after all, will decide nothing. The Germans are making strenuous preparations to control the English Channel through shore-batteries. Target practice has shown that the 38 cm. navy guns have a range of about fifty kilometers, and people are

looking forward to the sport of spreading terror far into England. The word is being passed around: "The channel is the life nerve of England."

* * *

Italy, apparently without regard to friend or foe, begins to collect booty. It is becoming clear, despite all denials, that she has already occupied Valona. Thus far no comment has been made on the German side. We seem ready to pay tribute for the sake of escaping something worse. Before the world war the occupation of Valona would have been the signal for a conflict between Austria and Italy.

Noteworthy, too, is the Czar's offer to return Italian-speaking Austrian prisoners to Italy, if they agree not to fight again against Russia. The Italian Government has cleverly turned down this offer. Although Russia's desire to strike a blow at Austria-Hungary may have been the real

motive of this offer, it also contains an acknowledgment of the so-called nationality principle; and the effect of this acknowledgment on the part of Russia will be of far-reaching significance for Europe, as well as for Russia herself.

A certain respect due her former ally and larger or smaller concessions on the part of Austria, which avoid the main issue, probably will keep Italy from forcing an open break at present. But the inevitable can only be deferred. The Italian people will continue to point ever more noisily to the Irredenta; the Austrian Italians will feel themselves drawn ever more strongly toward the Italian people. There is only one solution. Austria must relinquish her claim to rule great Italian-speaking territories, or she must be able to prove positively that the population of these territories wants to be ruled by her. At a time when even Russia is willing to spread a new light among her non-Russian peoples, Austria-

Hungary and Germany ought not to continue to live in darkness. But these States want to extinguish the light in other States.

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The death of the old King of Rumania has not brought any immediate change in the attitude of that country. We'll have to wait to see what his nephew, the new King, does. The new Queen is considered an open friend of Germany's enemies. A Rumanian who recently talked with me attached no very great importance to the sympathies of the dynasty, but thought that the Rumanians would themselves tell their monarch what sympathies he ought to have.

This is also my impression. The old King had been obliged from year to year to hearken more than ever to the voice of the country, instead of striking the note of leadership himself. To any power which has no honest comprehension of Rumanian aspirations concerning the Rumanians outside Ru-

mania, that country will be, at the most, a reluctant friend or a masked enemy. As an evidence of Rumania's present attitude be it said that she has detained for weeks the war material which Germany has been sending to Turkey.

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Formally, Turkey is still neutral. Presumably she has already come to an understanding with Persia and Afghanistan. India and Egypt, however, seem to remain entirely tranquil. The Japanese are fighting violently for Tsing-Tau and have occupied the German islands in the archipelago. We hear of no uneasiness in America on Japan's account. But there is a certain rapprochement between the United States and China.

* * *

Our newspapers have published a letter from a German girl to an Englishman. It

happened to fall by accident into the wrong hands. The girl assures the Englishman of her unwavering love. She says that she had always felt happy among the English, had learned very much from her association with them, and highly esteemed and valued her English experiences.

Some newspapers declare it shameful for a German girl to make such confessions of affection to an enemy at a time like this. They say it would be well to arrest the many Englishmen who continue to move about freely in Germany and to send women who thus dishonor themselves to the public pillory.

This stupid, brutal, and vulgar point of view, adopted by the newspapers, is on a level with that which sees in the foreign artist and savant nothing but an enemy and wants to ignore all intellectual activities outside of Germany. The girl could not give a better proof of the genuineness of her feeling. The storm of hate now lowering

over the world could not trouble the depths of her heart.

October 28th.

To-day official news came that the Germans and Austrians were retreating before strong Russian forces, which had crossed the Vistula.

The Germans are making progress nowhere on the Western front. In default of successes of any other sort the Crown Prince of Bavaria is developing into a champion braggart and is giving the world an opportunity to acquaint itself with the murkiness of his mental horizon. He stands with his troops between Nieuport and Dixmude. He has therefore made a wide detour, since he had intended to break into France in the neighborhood of Lunéville.

This gentleman, the brother-in-law of the Queen of the Belgians, issues on Belgian soil an address to his army in which he tells his soldiers that they have now the honor

of fighting against the English. England is solely responsible for the war; his troops should therefore take ruthless revenge for the evil brought on the world by England. This brutal appeal, which one could hardly excuse, if it came from a sergeant-major, closes with the words: "At them!"

This sounds like an incitation to give no quarter. It is an encouragement to brutality. Compare with this the tone in which the English commanders-in-chief have addressed their troops: "Do your duty; do honor to the English name; conduct yourselves respectably, etc." In the Bavarian address there is no mention of the restraints which the soldier ought to impose on himself, although its call to vengeance needed to be explained and qualified.

In any case it would still be a cause of shame to Bavaria that her Crown Prince spoke of revenge while occupying Belgian territory. It is no wonder that the enemy, after this effusion from a Royal Prince,

credits us with outrages which we did not commit and that the world's distrust of us is confirmed and nourished. Since this address is a fact, other things which are not facts will become credible.

October 29th.

The sensation of to-day is the attitude of the Boers of South Africa. Until now it had been assumed that no movement of the Boers, hostile to England, was probable, although it was known that some Boers had refused to fight against German colonial troops, and that a certain Colonel Maritz had mutinied. But to-day we read that the Generals Christian De Wet and Beyers have headed a great uprising in the Orange Free State and in the Transvaal, and that the Premier, General Botha, was ordered to take summary measures against his disloyal countrymen.

The Greek Government has informed the Great Powers that from considerations of

self-protection, it must reoccupy Epirus, but will respect Valona as an Italian sphere of influence. Italy and Greece seem to be trying to reach a friendly understanding. It would certainly be a step forward in Europe if Italy were to be guided in dealing with Greece by her own attitude toward Italia Irredenta. Both countries would be benefited and neither injured.

October 30th.

To-day the important news reaches us that Turkey has decided to take military action. This decision coincides with the report that England has announced the annexation of Egypt. In the meantime Turkey has begun by bombarding several Russian towns on the Black Sea. The destruction of a few Russian vessels is also telegraphed. In Germany there is great satisfaction. Enver Pasha is expected to appear with an army in Egypt as early as December.

It is feared that Turkey's attack on

Russia will further extend the zone of conflagration. Both Greece and Italy will deem it to their interest to restrain Turkey. Resolute action by Italy will also strengthen Rumania's desire to assert herself. However, so long as Bulgaria remains tranquil, there is hope that Greece and Rumania may be kept inactive.

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The Government recently issued an announcement to the effect that its statement that Germany, after the war, will respect Holland's political independence has created an excellent impression in Holland, and obviously increased Dutch confidence in Germany. But the foreign press says that the German statement has produced the opposite effect, because Germany at the same time emphasized the necessity of an economic rapprochement. In consequence of this, Holland is said to have become more uneasy than ever.

The foreign press is probably right,

because it is one of Germany's chief articles of faith at present that neighboring countries must be annexed economically. So much is certain: the Dutch want, as little as our other neighbors, an economical union with Germany, because they have no interest in Germany's protective tariff system, and because they fear that economical dependence might be converted into political dependence.

That numerous writers in the press have carelessly exploited the German economic program, has hurt us greatly abroad. But the Germans will neither see it nor believe it. Through their foreign propaganda they have swamped all neutral countries with such outgivings, with the hope, one must assume, of producing a favorable effect.

Oh, this foreign propaganda! Had the Germans kept quiet, they might perhaps, in their handicapped position, have awakened some sympathy, and their true nature might have been forgotten or never been

known. But now they attach great value to carrying on a victorious press campaign. For this end they are obliged to speak out. But no sooner do they speak out than their last friend turns away with horror from the coarseness and arrogance of their attitude.

November 1st.

What justification is there in international law for the deportation from an enemy country of innocent families, held as hostages? We have frequently read that the French took away many persons, understood to be hostages, from places in Alsace and Lorraine. Swiss newspapers also dwell disapprovingly on this practice. It seems to me to be a futile one, even if it were permissible under the law of nations. At all events, must not these people be released as soon as the villages they come from are reoccupied by the enemy?

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It is well worth noting that I have for the first time met a German industrial magnate (a South German, of course) who is out of sympathy with the policy of incitation and deception which the Germans are pursuing more and more. He condemned the retirement or expulsion of foreigners from our scientific societies or institutions by the cancellation of honorary distinctions and degrees, and also the general vilification of alien peoples. He calmly admitted to me that the war was brought on by a few individuals, on whom history would pass judgment, though not, perhaps, for some time to come. All Germans who, through a policy of incitation, had assisted these criminal leaders, would then stand shamed before the world.

This conversation strengthened and comforted me. But when I suggested that we publish a manifesto, urging greater restraint and sobriety, my comforter excused himself, because such a thing was an impos-

sibility in Germany. We would not only be overwhelmed with insults, but would imperil the interests of the great industrial establishments, to which we were under obligation to render the most devoted service.

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I recommend to anybody, who may still have doubts as to Belgium's intentions at the outbreak of the war, to read the Belgian *Grey Book*, which has just been issued. Shame on him who, after comparing it with German outgivings, still maintains that Belgium had made any agreements with our opponents, or that France ever had any idea of marching through Belgium! Twofold shame on him who doesn't sympathize with that misused country, and threefold shame on him who says that Belgium could have permitted the passage of German troops without losing her honor!

The Belgian case lies so clear and open before everybody's eyes that it seems to

me almost superfluous to add some observations based on my own personal experience. I shall merely hint at a few of them. For many years Belgium had bought her war material almost exclusively from Germany, and in her domestic production had stood in a relation to Germany amounting almost to dependence, so far as models and fabrication were concerned. The 28-centimeter guns for the fortifications of Antwerp were ordered from Germany. These guns were already finished, paid for, and awaiting delivery at the beginning of 1914. But work on the fortifications at Antwerp had not progressed far enough to allow them to be installed.

So the Belgian authorities asked that they be kept for a while at the place of manufacture. For various reasons, this request was unwillingly granted and the Belgian Government was repeatedly urged, even shortly before the war, to take away these cannon. But Brussels constantly re-

newed its request and even offered to pay storage costs. When the war broke out these valuable guns were commandeered and put to use by the Prussian War Ministry.

It is very clear that a Belgian government which had any evil intentions towards Germany or expected any injury from Germany would have acted differently. Another example of the same sort is that some months before the outbreak of the war, the Belgian Government entered into extensive agreements with the greatest of the German munitions and war material establishments both for the delivery of a new munitions supply by this firm and also for the fabrication of munitions in Belgium; and induced the great Belgian firm of Cockerill to enter into similar highly significant agreements.

The war had hardly broken out when the latter firm announced the part payment of 1,000,000 francs on a German royalty account. Such incidents show the unsuspecting attitude of Belgium and her effort

to keep on good terms with Germany. But if she feared Germany, then the Government believed that it could moderate the peril by a special concession to German cupidity, just as the royal family of Belgium may have considered its friendship with the German rulers a protection for Belgium.

November 9th.

Tsing-Tau fell yesterday. It would have been more reasonable on our part to give it back to China before Japan declared war. Whoever believed, after all the heroic telegrams about "defense to the last man" and "the most unyielding fulfillment of duty," that the Japanese would take no German alive, must be agreeably surprised. Even the Governor is still alive. Unfortunately William II. cannot this time offer both parties the order "Pour le Mérite," as he did some time ago after the fall of Port Arthur.

A few days ago the German East Asiatic squadron destroyed an English squadron off the coast of Chile.

Nevertheless, it must be said that very little is going on. There has been very little change in the eight days since my last entry. The Germans are not getting forward in the West; in the East the retreat to the line of the Warthe has not yet been finished.

Recently statements about disorders in France, about an impending retreat of the French army, and about discords between our enemies, have come to us under a Geneva date line. The Government has evidently placed an agent in Geneva and hopes thereby to create the impression that news is coming out of French Switzerland which is unfavorable to France.

Only our undiscriminating public is deceived. Everybody else will satisfy himself without any difficulty that the foreign sources on which our Geneva correspond-

ent depends are either doctored or do not exist. It would carry me too far to give other examples, a great quantity of which I have collected.

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The German Crown Prince has exchanged "brotherly greetings" with Enver Pasha. Such fraternization has ceased with the world war; and I fear that Europe will eventually have to pay for it with the loss of her world position.

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Of the news that England has begun to intern Germans in concentration camps, and as a result of the ignoring by the English Government of a German proposal for the exchange of men not fit for military duty, the German Government has retorted with a similar measure: namely, the internment here of all Englishmen between 15 and 55, mostly jockies, trainers,

and negroes. All other Englishmen must report to the police twice a day. One sees that madness and hatefulness are becoming more unmeasured than they already were.

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As I learned from a source which can be depended upon, there have been for some time past several English submarines in the Baltic Sea, with their base probably at Libau. In consequence the warships at Kiel do not venture to go out; even the trial trips of new ships have had to be postponed.

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German money is at an average discount of 10% in foreign countries. Also the value of Austrian money has considerably decreased, while all foreign quotations are normal. Belgian bank notes are even very high, although there is almost no Belgian territory left. This financial judgment on the part of foreign exchanges gives us food

for thought. It is not justifiable to talk of enemy machinations. In money matters there is a very cold-blooded, international public.

Also the disparity between import and export trade needs clearing up. Austria-Hungary is importing almost nothing; on the contrary, we are buying a great deal from Austria-Hungary just now. The real cause is that no one in the outside world wants to keep German money, because confidence in its value is lacking.

We say to ourselves that Germany is straining her powers to the utmost; that her finances seem to be in good order; that she has worked out a very delicate method of creating enormous resources. But all that will hold good only in case we win the war—only in case our enemies are obliged to pay great indemnities. Otherwise, the method breaks down. And the foreign world is of the opinion that Germany's calculations will go awry.

November 10th.

The Turkish Government, just like the rest of us, calls loudly in its proclamations and war bulletins on God, who recognizes the justice of the Turkish cause and protects that cause. The Turkish Government also describes itself as the attacked and persecuted party, forced to enter the war by implacable enemies of the Turkish Empire. This hypocritical croaking on the part of accomplices in crime must be a pleasing concert for the ears of the Ruler of the World.

I will excuse them by saying that they cannot forego the lie by which they live, at the moment in which they fight for their own lying existence. If they compel their peoples to war, they are themselves compelled to falsehood. If they want to rule, they can rule only through politics, which with them means the same thing as the distortion of morals and truth, as the utilization for their own purposes of the

ignorance, the bigotry, and the conceptions of honor and duty of the masses of the people.

But it is much sadder when those men who, because of their education, insight, and independence, stand in a certain way as neutrals between the poorer contributing populace and the ambitious tricky Governments, and who should form an International Court of Arbitration, conduct themselves as deceitfully and hatefully as though they were themselves politicians, and depended for the working out of their plans on the blinding and leading astray of entire nations.

I have read a poem by Verharen, even, which seems to me scandalous. It is true that terrible excesses have been committed. It is true that the moral status of one people is lower than that of another. But no thinking man ought on that account to conduct himself as though he could no longer make any distinctions among enemies, as

though he could no longer discover any ray of reconciliation, rapprochement or hope. Whoever sees in an entire people only wild beasts which must be exterminated; whoever collects only a one-sided record of the crimes of the enemy, but excludes everything which excuses the enemy or is at all in his favor, himself commits a crime which is greater than those excesses, because he poisons for years to come millions of human beings with his own rabid hate. Such injustice does not strengthen the friend, but the enemy. On the contrary, whoever is stern toward himself and toward his own friends, when strife has broken out, works for conciliation and moderates the violence of the battle.

It is also no excuse for either of the parties to say that the enemy does not do differently or better—that he is guilty of the same exaggerations and false generalizations. To preserve reason, judgment, and moderation in these things is at present the first and

almost the sole indication of higher intellect and of that genuine superiority, which must conquer, and which the conquered will not deny but rather try to imitate.

Unfortunately the best known authors and poets among us have shown themselves of little worth as leaders or mediators. One must be filled with deep distrust of them; one must doubt whether it was right to yield so far to their ideas and judgments, as we have so often and so gladly done; one must fear that some peril lay concealed in their works, which heretofore we had artlessly failed to notice. Their outgivings in this war have shown us that they do not possess the spiritual superiority which helps us in our need. This discovery must aid us, after the war in breaking away from the coryphées of recent days. A new generation must seek new leaders and poets, who are better people than these angels with devils' hearts.

If it is true that an author like Wells

not long ago demanded a pitiless butchery of all Germans, one might almost refrain from abusing the stupid, narrow German professor, who busies himself eagerly in illuminating his own limited intellectual terrain to the outer world by means of patriotic fireworks. The German professor believes that no one is able to resist a desire to see German truth just as narrowly constricted as he and his fellow countrymen see it.

But it must be repeated how repulsive and injurious such conduct is. Not long ago a German University Professor took to task a Swiss painter on account of the well-known protest against the destruction of the Cathedral of Rheims, and in doing so acted as if he, as a former professor in the University of Basle, was entitled to speak in the name of German Switzerland. A publication by the University of Basle denies all sympathy with the views of this gentleman. Such a thing is truly lamentable.

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I have a lively recollection from the days of my youth of the fat, rough, German bourgeoisie of German cities. They sat gladly and frequently in their favorite drinking places, conversed noisily and self-importantly about all sorts of trifles, drank and ate heavily, and considered themselves the most perfect of all men, while their wives were busied at home with the children, worked their heads off, and never thought of the possibility that their husbands would take them along to these entertainments or even give them a friendly word. Very similarly the new Germany, whose business was going well, feasted together and shouted out all sorts of rude, arrogant, and eccentric things across the tables and out of the windows, without feeling that they would better first perform their urgent duties at home, before they allowed themselves such license; that they should first help the common people to rise out of brutality, misery, and ignorance to

a level more worthy of human beings, before they allowed themselves to pose to the outside world as great men. Now, the Government, in war time, suddenly disturbs their banquet; they hear voices from outside which abuse them as Philistines and egoists; they spring up blusteringly and in a great fury try to prove what fine men of the world and peaceable fellows they really are. They are astonished that foreign listeners recognize them at the first word as clowns and are disposed to ignore them. They feel themselves even more abused that they were disturbed in the midst of their eating and drinking, which had become richer and more copious every year. Instead of learning, they want to teach. Their ardent patriotism carries credentials not from the heart but from the stomach.

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A letter from the front brings me the extraordinary news that the German Kaiser

personally stated before an assemblage of officers that he had now enough prisoners, and that he hoped the officers would see to it that no more were taken. This news is entirely trustworthy. What a supplement to the address of the Bavarian Crown Prince! What a sequel to the former cry of the Kaiser to the troops of the China Expedition: "No quarter will be given"!

November 11th.

I was not a little astonished to hear yesterday from someone who was in a position to know, that already on two occasions feelers for peace between ourselves and Russia had been put out, and that Russia was entirely ready to conclude a separate peace. The first time Russia demanded that Germany should cut loose from Austria-Hungary—which was refused. If Germany feels the necessity of working within the Dual Monarchy, on the one hand for the domination of the German population,

and on the other for advantageous relations with neighboring states, like Rumania and Italy, it is out of the question to give Russia a free hand against Austria-Hungary, since this would mean a complete destruction of German prestige in Eastern Europe.

Why the negotiations fell through the second time, and for what reason they were renewed, I have no means of knowing. Probably the entry of Turkey into the war has tended to change the situation. I shall make no further comments on this piece of news. For me the greatest surprise in connection with it is that Russia presumably is inclined to sign a separate peace. Perhaps she only pretends to be so and is sounding Austria-Hungary in the same manner. It is clear that Germany would be pleased to have Russia off her neck and would be glad to make some sacrifice to that end.

* * *

When one frequently reads, as I do, in confidential correspondence what Germany

is thinking of doing with her conquests, one must become anxious and alarmed not only for the human race, but even for Germany. There are a great number of people exceedingly active, who, in the fear that the guild of statesmen or of soldiers is not competent to make a proper peace, put their own thoughts on paper and exchange them with their friends. These schemes are then presented to the Kaiser and his intimates. A very influential gentleman who intended to betake himself to Grand Headquarters with such a composition allowed me to look over it. It contains, among other things, the demand that the non-German inhabitants of the annexed territories shall have no political rights. This single example is enough.

* * *

The French ambassador to London recently justly maintained in an address that the most shocking thing in this war is

not the misapprehensions of the lower classes, but the outgivings of the so-called intellectual élite of Germany, the professors and similar persons, who betray a sort of regulated, schoolmaster-like barbarity, and apparently have not the faintest idea that there is an intellectual community between the other peoples, which is strong enough to destroy German egoism. In fact one cannot write more facilely and superficially than one of our best-known teachers of international law, at once the tutor and the valued friend of the Kaiser, did the other day in a newspaper article. Whoever has read that article will understand what the Frenchman means.

* * *

Someone whispered to me as a great secret that the chief international conventions relating to war are invalid, since Montenegro, which signed none of these conventions, is taking part in the war.

There was a provision that in such a case all the agreements among the other belligerents should be invalidated. If one gets to that point, illimitable consequences could follow. This is also worth noting. We Germans are such paragraph people and superficial moralists that we believe every nation, so soon as it knows that these agreements are not binding, will at once commit all imaginable atrocities, because there is no law against doing so. Our own hearts, our own reason, our own worth as human beings seem to us to have nothing to say in the matter.

* * *

I learned to-day from a Bulgarian that Italy is making great efforts to win over Bulgaria to a league of neutral states, which already includes Italy, Rumania, and Greece. He says that Bulgaria is showing little interest and that Italy has promised her a return by Rumania of the Dobrudja. The

tendency of this league is against Austria. In any case it could exercise a great influence on both belligerent groups, and could bring great profits to those states which were members of it.

November 12th.

Enemy ships have tracked down and destroyed in the Indian Ocean the small cruiser *Emden*, after it had accomplished many brilliant feats. For several months past, the chivalry of its German captain had been applauded by the English. In this war, which drips more with hate than with blood, there might be almost some hope left, were we to value rightly this praise on the part of an opponent.

I shall not go into the question whether the Germans would publicly pay such tribute to an enemy who had injured them to a similar extent. It is enough for me to hear this unanimous praise from an enemy country. So it pays to fight chival-

rously! Also our opponents, in spite of what our newspapers say, do not call everyone a barbarian who fights in the German ranks! Too few of the stamp of this captain have been conspicuous on the German side. May his example create many great and small imitators! May every German so conduct himself that he can confidently leave it to the enemy to pass judgment on himself and his deeds. There cannot be a greater victory than when Germany thus receives back her honor from the enemy, as this sea officer did his from the English, who restored him his sword.

* * *

One would think that the reading of the newspapers and periodicals alone were a sufficient war-terror to call forth a cry of longing for truth and moderation from millions of hearts. One would think that a wave of abhorrence must soon obliterate the shameful words and images forced

upon us by hatred and the delight in inflicting pain and suffering. Partisanship is no longer the correct expression; it is obsession. If one wanted to make a record of all the crimes committed each year in the enemy's country and offer it as a complete epitome of the enemy's activities and aspirations, expressly denying the existence of all other sorts of human activities, he would be simply following the example of our press.

From time to time exceptions are made —by orders from the top, of course. Thus at present some suggestions are being thrown out excusing France and Russia, because it is desired to show that the Continental States are all dupes of England. Another time they will think it politically expedient to turn the spearhead of hate against a Continental State and to spare England.

Almost without exception our opponents are credited with characteristics and aims which present-day Germany exhibits or

cherishes far more than any other power. For instance, lust for territory. We hear on all sides, "land-greedy Japan, land-greedy Russia, land-greedy England." But in the same breath our masters discuss among themselves in whispers the foreign territory which Germany absolutely must have. He is a traitor to his country who does not perceive this vital necessity!

Another example would be the alleged envy of German industry and the desire to destroy it. But no more of this. I have already set forth what claims must be satisfied at the end of the war, according to the views prevailing in our most influential circles. Yes, *must* be satisfied. And I am anxious to know what Germany is going to do, if this "must" is not conceded by our opponents.

November 14th.

In England the spy mania seems to have taken a very malignant form. This is probably partly due to the idea the

Englishman has of the foreigner, whom he imagines smarter, shrewder, and bolder than himself, but who is ultimately thwarted by British cold-bloodedness and steadiness. Around the stolid Englishman romps or rages a world of half-monkeys, whom he makes use of or drives back into their cages as soon as they begin to annoy him. This imperturable self-assurance, together with a fantastic and credulous distrust of everything abnormal—that is, non-English—causes him to think now that all Germans or former Germans are spies.

It matters not that Englishmen of German origin have sons in the British army and navy. The ex-German and his family are suspects and must be prevented from doing harm. Even the First Lord of the Admiralty, Prince Battenberg, whose sons are fighting in the army and whose nephew has died for England, had to resign his office after being attacked in the press because of his German descent.

The helpless German proletariat which used to fill the London streets and now fills the internment camps is suspected of keeping up mysterious relations with the Kaiser and his military forces. Miserable German shop-keepers are thrown on the sidewalk because they maintained headquarters for a news-service hostile to England. Waiters and clerks, formerly happy for having escaped from Germany and her obligatory military service, are considered a disguised army of invasion or as special advance courriers of his Majesty, the German Emperor.

If German vessels reach the English coast, only German spies could have disclosed the way there. If a surprise attack has been made upon English soldiers, then the German spy, disguised as a peasant, has been seen reconnoitering the position. German spies, dressed in the uniforms of English officers, appear before Indian regiments and order them to leave the trenches.

Disguised as Belgian sanitary officers, they offer to guide English troops, and guide them into what proves to be an ambush.

Wherever the Englishman goes and halts, eats and drinks, works and sleeps, at home or abroad, a German spy is shadowing him. But England need not fear; the sons of Albion will discover the shadower. No disguise, no dissimulation, no fluency of speech, no swiftness of movement—in short, nothing—saves him from the sharp English eye, and the strong English hand. One might feel inclined to laugh at all this, if one did not pity the poor victims in England who, worried, simple-minded, and industrious, wanted to leave Germany for a better country.

* * *

Very pretty is the motto of the new commander-in-chief of the English fleet, which the English newspapers proudly place under his picture: "Hit first, hit hard, hit

anywhere!" No German hero could have clothed so beautiful an exhortation in such curt words—even the Crown Prince of Bavaria, or the Crown Prince of Prussia. In this war there could be no possible deed which did not come within the limitations of this motto. For instance, "hit anywhere" entails such a generous and general absolution that the Germans ought no longer need to feel ashamed. It is enough merely to look at the picture of this Lord Fisher: A ring fighter, rough, tricky, in a dress uniform overloaded with orders. He and his motto belong in Germany.

* * *

Very recently I heard a representative German admit to me, to my great astonishment, that we wanted to bring on the war; that we could very easily have done what was necessary to avoid war; that Vienna and St. Petersburg were already on the point of an agreement. But we had mis-

calculated, because we were not able to reduce France to her knees within two months.

So much wisdom induced me to put to him this question: "Yes, certainly, that is my conviction, too; but since when have you thought so?"

Whereupon, smiling an indescribably amiable smile, he answered: "One does not say such things before it is time to say them—and never under any circumstances to the public!"

THE END.

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